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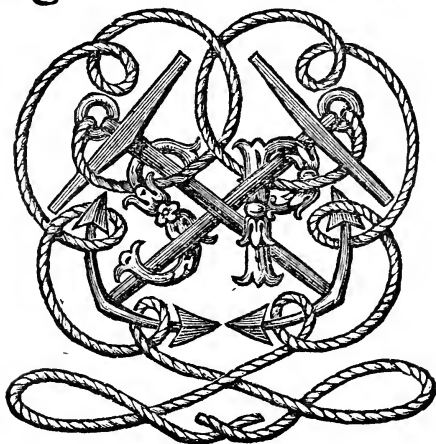
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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

Mens *cujusque* is est *quisque*



DIARY
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

WITH A LIFE AND NOTES BY
RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

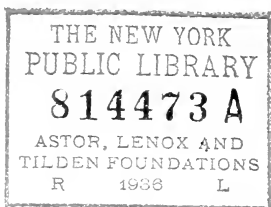
DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY
REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,
PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. I.
JANUARY 1, 1660—FEBRUARY 28, 1661.

NEW-YORK:
DODD, MEAD & COMPANY.

1885.

P



Milverton. Let us take five or six of the men who are best known to the world. Now they shall not be saints or martyrs; or men especially renowned for goodness of any kind. I will choose them only from the fact that they happen to be well known to us — not their lives particularly, but themselves. The men I will choose are Horace, Dante, Montaigne, Pepys, Dr. Johnson, and Rousseau.

Ellesmere. A queer collection. How they would have quarrelled!

Milverton. I don't know about that. All I contend for is, that there is much to admire and like in each of these men, however great their faults may have been.

Sir Arthur. Pepys?

Ellesmere. The best chosen of all. Now, there is a book I have read — his Diary — over and over again. I give Milverton great credit for choosing him. He does not pretend to be a mass of virtue, but, after all, how much good and worth there is in the fellow. I look upon that Diary of his as the truest book ever written. Even when he condescends to conformity, you can see that he does not take in himself, or wish to take in any reader, if that Diary was ever intended to be read. One day he goes in a barge with the King and the Duke of York. "Good Lord!" he says, "what poor stuff they did talk." Then recollecting that, as an official man, he must not, even to himself, run down his official superiors, he adds, "But God be praised, they are both of them princes of marvellous nobleness and spirit."

HELPS' *Social Pressure*, pp. 162, 163.

PREFACE.

WHEN I was obliged three or four years ago, owing to ill health, to leave Cambridge, a college friend said to me, "You may as well decipher afresh Pepys' Diary." I followed his suggestion, and I have deciphered the original MS. to the best of my ability. I have twice carefully gone over every word in the original short-hand. I have added about one third of matter never yet published, and at the end of each volume I have made a list of the principal mistakes in the former editions, so that any one who chooses to take the trouble may compare the corrections with the mistakes, and form his own opinion upon them.

"*Mr. Pips his Diary*," immortalized by Doyle and Leigh, is so well known and his name is now such a "household word," that I think I have no need to apologize for giving the public a fuller account of his domestic affairs. I have therefore published the whole of the Diary, with the exception of such parts as I

thought would be tedious to the reader, or that are unfit for publication. To some I may appear to have put in too much unimportant matter, others may think that I should have published the whole of the Diary. To all, however, who may read this edition and become acquainted with most of Pepys' most secret thoughts, which he never intended should be known,¹ I will venture to say :

"Be to his virtues very kind,
Be to his faults a little blind."

He was a passionate and jealous, but an affectionate husband. He and his wife, who had "a temper of her own," were continually quarrelling, but, with the exception of one disastrous occasion, they soon made up their domestic squabbles and "friends again as we always are." He was a good son, and he was on the whole a kind and generous brother.

It is impossible for any one who has not read the *entire* Diary fully to appreciate Pepys' industry and diligence in his office of Secretary to the Admiralty, but it would have been tedious to the reader if I had copied from the Diary the account of his daily work at the office, and it is no wonder after nine years' constant labour and writing from early in the morning till late at night that his eyes failed him, and that he

¹ See last page of the Diary. (M. B.)

was obliged for a time to give up his work. I felt quite grieved for him when I compared the cipher in the sixth and last volume with the beautifully written and clear cipher in the preceding volumes.

I will only add the character given of Pepys by his intimate friend Evelyn in his Diary, May 26th, 1703:—

“This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. When King James II. went out of England, he laid down his office and would serve no more, but withdrawing himself from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweet place, where he enjoyed the fruit of his labours in great prosperity. He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men, of whom he had the conversation. His library and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he published of an account of the navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the history of the navy, or *Navalia*, as he called it; but how far advanced and what will follow of his is left, I suppose, to his sister’s son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of useful learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments and worthy

to be his heir. Mr. Pepys had been for near forty years so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies ; but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last office."

MYNORS BRIGHT.

23, SUSSEX PLACE, REGENT'S PARK.

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

SAMUEL PEPYS, the author of the Diary, was descended from a younger branch of the ancient family of Pepys, who are represented to have settled at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, early in the 16th century.¹

His father, John Pepys, was a citizen of London, where he followed the trade of a tailor about the year 1660; he soon afterwards retired to Brampton, in Huntingdonshire, at which place he had inherited a small property² from an elder brother, and ended his days there in 1680. Of his mother, I can only learn that her name was Margaret, and that she died in 1666-7, having had issue six sons and five daughters, of which number, three only of the former, and one of the latter, were living in 1659.

Samuel, the eldest surviving son, was born February 23, 1632-33, whether at Brampton or in London I have no means of ascertaining; both places being named with equal confidence by his different biographers.

¹ They are said, in the History of Norfolk, to have originally been seated at Diss in that county.

² The rental was about £40 per annum.

From allusions in the Diary, we learn that he passed his boyish days in or near the Metropolis,¹ and was educated at St. Paul's School, where he probably continued till 1650, early in which year his name occurs as sizar on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge. Previously, however, to his going to reside in that University, March 5th, 1650-1, he had removed to Magdalene College, where he was elected into one of Mr. Spendluffe's scholarships the next month; and in 1651, preferred to one on Dr. Smith's foundation.²

¹ He went first to school at Huntingdon. See Diary, March 15, 1660: "I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him these sixteen years." (M. B.)

² The only notices that I have been able to gather from the Entry and Register-books of Magdalene College are the following:—

"Oct. 1. 1650.

"* Samuëll Peapys filius Johannis Peapys civis Londinensis, annos natus ——— è scholâ Paulinâ admissus est Sizator Tutore D^{no} Morland.

"* Mem, cū prius admissū fuisse in Aulâ Trin: 21 die Junij ejusdem aⁿi, ut patet ex testif M^{ri} Twells ibidem Socio, dat. Mar: 4. 165⁰/₇, quo die etiā in ordinē transijt Pensionariorum apud nos."

"Aprilis 30. 1651.

"Ego Samuel Pepys admissus fui in discipulum hujus Collegij pro Magistro Spenluff."

"Octob. 4^o. 1653.

"Ego Samuel Pepys electus fui et admissus in discipulum hujus Collegij pro Magistro Joanne Smyth."

These entries show that he was a fair scholar and a "reading man." *But alas!* from the Registrar's book:—

"October 21, 1653. Memorandum: that Peapys and Hind were solemnly admonished by myself and Mr. Hill, for having been scandalously overserved with drink y^e night before. This was done in the presence of all the Fellows then resident in Mr. Hill's chamber. JOHN WOOD, Registrar."

We read in the Diary, May, 1668, "Walked to Magdalen College and there into the butterys, as a stranger, and there drank my bellyfull of their beer, which pleased me, as the best I ever drank."

I should be glad, if I could, to have a gossip with him and hear his opinion

How long Mr. Pepys continued at Cambridge, or what were his academical pursuits, we are not informed; but in October, 1655, he married Elizabeth St. Michel, a native of Somersetshire, whose father is described as having been of a good family; and her mother was descended from the Cliffords of Cumberland. As Mrs. Pepys had only just quitted the convent in which she was educated, at the early age of fifteen,¹ and brought her husband no fortune, it is unnecessary to say more upon the imprudence of the alliance; but no doubt the youthful pair were glad to find an asylum in the family of Mr. Pepys's Cousin, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards created Earl of Sandwich, to whose good offices at this period, and continued friendship, he owed and gratefully acknowledged his subsequent advancement. Of the exact situation which he filled during his residence in the house of his powerful relative, no mention is made. We only know that after having been successfully cut for the

of the beer now. I am afraid in those days that Magdalene College did not enjoy the reputation of a "tea-drinking" college, which it afterwards had at the beginning of this century. The next entry in the Registrar's book is:—

"September 9th, 1654.

"Memorandum. Y^t Sir White (*his title as B.A.*) and Anderson being both taken drunke, should have received admonition for it, but being contumacious and refusing to come into y^e Hall, they had both their names forthwith cut out of y^e tables, and Sir White was finally expelled, though Anderson, upon his reading a recantation, had his name put in again. J. PEACHELLE, Registr." (M. B.)

¹ Evelyn's mother was married when she was fifteen (*Evelyn, Diary*, 8vo. 1827, vol. i. p. 11), and Evelyn married his own wife when she was fourteen (*Diary*, i. p. xxxvi.); Samuel Pepys married in 1655 "a girl of fifteen." Buckle, *Common Place Book*. (M. B.)

stone (the anniversary of which operation he was in the habit of afterwards celebrating with a becoming sense of the Divine mercy extended to him), he accompanied Sir Edward upon his expedition to the Sound, in March, 1658, and at their return was employed as a clerk, under Sir George Downing, in some office in the Exchequer, connected with the pay of the Army.

About this period he began his Diary,¹ which is interesting in its outset, from the notices which it conveys of the opinions and reports prevailing at that important crisis ; and shortly after becomes still more so, from his obtaining the appointment of Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet, and his having thus the opportunity of detailing every occurrence that took place on board the *Naseby*, from the time of Sir Edward Montagu's sailing to bring home Charles II. to that Monarch's arrival at Dover. It was natural to suppose, that while his Patron, who had acted so conspicuous a part in bringing about the Restoration, was rewarded with an Earldom, and made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and Clerk of the Privy Seal, Mr. Pepys would not long remain unemployed. Accordingly, we find him the following summer nominated Clerk of the Acts of the Navy ; and he entered upon the duties of that Office early in June, 1660, at which time he resided in Seething-lane, in the parish of St.

¹ The cipher employed by Pepys is *not* that known by the name of "Rich's System," but one composed by Shelton, a later edition of which, 1691, is in the Pepysian Library. (M. B.)

Olave, Hart-street. From this moment his natural talents for business, which were afterwards to become so useful to his country, seem to have developed themselves; and his zeal and industry soon acquired for him respect in the eyes of the other officers of his department, and the esteem of the Duke of York, with whom, as Lord High Admiral, he had almost daily intercourse.

It cannot be supposed, that in so licentious an age, when the love of pleasure was predominant to every other consideration, Mr. Pepys should have been so completely absorbed by his official labours, as to take no interest in the scenes of dissipation which surrounded him. His first object, however, was to discharge his duty conscientiously; and when we observe the many hours which he devoted to the theatre, and to the pursuit of every sort of amusement, it is matter of astonishment how he could have found leisure to dispatch so much business, and to make copies of the voluminous Correspondence which passed through his hands. From the mass of these Papers still extant, it may be inferred, that he never lost sight of the public good, and took infinite pains to check the rapacity of the Contractors, by whom the naval stores were then supplied, and to establish such regulations in the Dockyards as might be productive of order and economy. He was also most anxious for the promotion of the old-established Officers of the Navy, uniformly striving to counteract the superior influence of the Court favourites, which too often prevailed in that unprinci-

pled Government over every claim of merit or service, and resisting to the utmost the infamous system of selling places, practised at that period, in every department of the State, in the most open and unblushing manner.

The Dutch war, which broke out in 1664, stimulated Mr. Pepys to still farther exertions, as all the naval energies of the nation were necessarily called into action ; and during the Plague which occurred in the following year, when the Metropolis was deserted, and the service completely abandoned, the whole management of the concerns of the Navy devolved upon him, and he remained at his post, regardless of the dangers which environed him. "The sickness in general thickens round us, and particularly upon our neighbourhood," observes Mr. Pepys, in writing to Sir W. Coventry at this juncture. "You, Sir, took your turn of the sword ; I must not, therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence."

He was soon afterwards made Secretary to the Commissioners for managing the affairs of Tangier, and Surveyor-general of the Victualling Department ; which last office he resigned when the peace was concluded.

During the fire of London, respecting which there are very curious details in the Diary, Mr. Pepys rendered the most essential service, by sending up the artificers from the Dock-yards, who adopted the plan of blowing up houses, and ultimately arrested the progress of the flames. In the spring of 1668, when

De Ruyter's successful enterprise against Chatham, in the preceding year, became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, the Officers of the Navy Board naturally incurred the greatest share of the public indignation ; they were accordingly summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, the Clerk of the Acts undertook their defence, and, in a speech of three hours' duration, succeeded so well in proving that the blame neither rested with himself nor his Colleagues, that no farther proceedings were instituted against them.

The compliments which he received from so many different quarters upon this brilliant display of eloquence, could not fail to have been highly flattering to his feelings, and the particulars are too minutely detailed in the Diary to leave any doubt on the subject. Nevertheless, it seems unaccountable that the same individual, who in this one instance did himself so much credit, should never afterwards have risen to any distinction as a Parliamentary Speaker, though he sat for many years in the House of Commons, and occasionally took part in the debates. In the summer of 1669, Mr. Pepys was obliged to discontinue his Diary, owing to the increasing weakness of his eyes, which had long been impaired by his incessant correspondence, and his habit of writing so much in short-hand ; but although he was at this period apprehensive of losing his sight, the disorder does not seem to have gained ground during the remainder of his life. Some relaxation, however, from

the duties of his office appeared absolutely necessary, after nine years' uninterrupted application to business : Mr. Pepys accordingly memorialized the King for a few months' leave of absence, which being granted, he availed himself of the opportunity to make a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Upon this excursion he often looks back with pleasure in his Correspondence ; and he appears, from one of his letters to Charles II., to have occupied himself while abroad, in making collections respecting the French and Dutch Navy ; so anxious was he at all times to improve his knowledge of nautical affairs, and to acquire useful information connected with his official employments.

Shortly after his return to England, he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died at his house in Hart-street, leaving him no issue. She had been ill only a few days, but her delicate state of health is often mentioned in the Diary. Previously to her death, she received the Sacrament from Dr. Milles, the Rector of the Parish, with her husband ; thus, in her last moments, removing the doubts which he had long entertained, of her being disposed to embrace the Catholic Religion.

This melancholy event prevented Mr. Pepys from attending the Election at Aldborough in Suffolk, for which Borough he had been proposed as a Candidate, in lieu of Sir Robert Brookes, lately deceased ; and his friends, notwithstanding his absence, exerted themselves to the utmost to procure his election. His

cause was also openly and warmly espoused by the Duke of York and Lord Henry Howard ;¹ but, upon going to a Poll, all their efforts combined proved ineffectual, and the popular party prevailed. In January, 1673, however, Mr. Pepys was chosen Member for Castle Rising, on Sir Robert Paston's elevation to the Peerage ; and his unsuccessful opponent, Mr. Offley, petitioning against the return, the Election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. But the Parliament was prorogued the following month, without the House's coming to any decision on the subject, and Mr. Pepys was permitted to retain his seat.² The grounds upon which the

¹ Second son of Henry Earl of Arundel, in 1669 created Baron Howard of Castle Rising, and in 1672 advanced to the Earldom of Norwich. Upon the death of his elder brother Thomas, s. p. in 1677, he became the sixth Duke of Norfolk. He presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford. Ob. January, 1683-4.

² "The House then proceeding upon the debate touching the Election for Castle Rising, between Mr. Pepys and Mr. Offley, did, in the first place, take into consideration what related personally to Mr. Pepys. Information being given to the House that they had received an account from a person of quality, that he saw an Altar with a Crucifix upon it in the house of Mr. Pepys; Mr. Pepys, standing up in his place, did heartily and flatly deny that he ever had any Altar or Crucifix, or the image or picture of any Saint whatsoever in his house, from the top to the bottom of it; and the Members being called upon to name the person that gave them the information, they were unwilling to declare it, without the order of the House; which being made, they named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and the House being also informed that Sir J. Banks did likewise see the Altar, he was ordered to attend the Bar of the House, to declare what he knew of this matter. 'Ordered, that Sir William Coventry, Sir Thomas Meeres, and Mr. Garraway, do attend Lord Shaftesbury on the like occasion, and receive what information his Lordship can give on this matter.' — *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ix. p. 306. — '13 February. Sir W. Coventry reports that they attended the Earl of Shaftesbury, and received from him the account which they had put in

Committee decided do not appear ; but the proceedings of the House on the subject, as entered on the Journals, are given in the note below. They exhibit a striking and most disgusting picture of the spirit of those times. It was charged against Pepys, that a crucifix had been seen in his house, from which it was inferred that he was "a Papist, or Popishly inclined ;" and this vague suspicion, not of a man's actions, but of his belief or inclinations, was deemed by the House the first subject to be inquired into in the adjudication of a controverted election. From the result, however, of this examination, neither the fact nor the inference received the smallest support. They had been grounded on the reported assertions of Sir John Banks and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Banks explicitly denied the whole. Shaftesbury's evidence I

writing. The Earl of Shaftesbury denieth that he ever saw an Altar in Mr. Pepys's house or lodgings; as to the Crucifix, he saith he hath some imperfect memory of seeing somewhat which he conceived to be a Crucifix. When his Lordship was asked the time, he said it was before the burning the Office of the Navy. Being asked concerning the manner, he said he could not remember whether it were painted or carved, or in what manner the thing was; and that his memory was so very imperfect in it, that if he were upon his oath he could give no testimony.' — *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 309. — '16 February. Sir John Banks was called in — The Speaker desired him to answer what acquaintance he hath with Mr. Pepys, and whether he used to have recourse to him to his house, and had ever seen there any Altar or Crucifix, and whether he knew of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined. Sir J. Banks said that he had known and had been acquainted with Mr. Pepys several years, and had often visited him and conversed with him at the Navy Office, and at his house there, upon several occasions; and that he never saw in his house there any Altar or Crucifix, and that he does not believe him to be a Papist, or that way inclined in the least, nor had any reason or ground to think or believe it.' — *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 310."

forbear to characterize : such as it is, the reader may see it in the note. Painful, indeed, is it to reflect to what lengths the bad passions which party violence inflames, could in those days carry a man of Shaftesbury's rank, station, and abilities. We also collect from Cole's MSS. *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*,¹ that some years afterwards Shaftesbury, in his eagerness to fix the odium of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's self-murder upon the Roman Catholics, threatened the principal witness examined during that inquiry with the utmost rigour, in cases he refused to say that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy, a servant of the Duke of York's, had obliged her to depose to the fact of Godfrey's having destroyed himself.

A fact of the same character, but of a still deeper hue, is told by an unexceptionable witness. Burnet was among the warmest and ablest antagonists of the Church of Rome ; and he was also, in his general opinions, an adherent of the same political party to which Shaftesbury belonged : but when he relates the detestable imposture of the Popish Plot, he bears against that great promoter of those proceedings an honest and memorable testimony. He is speaking of the prosecution of Staley, the first victim of those horrid perjuries.

“ When I heard [he says] who the witnesses were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to stop it ; so I sent both to the Lord Chancellor and to the Attorney-General, to let

¹ In the British Museum.

them know what PROFLIGATE WRETCHES these witnesses were. Jones, the Attorney-General, took it ill of me that I should disparage the King's evidence."

He then speaks of the clamour raised on this occasion against himself, and adds, —

"I had likewise observed to several persons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given. I wished they would make use of the heat the nation was in to secure us effectually from Popery: we saw certain evidence to carry us so far as to graft that upon it;¹ but I wished they would not run too hastily to the taking men's lives away upon such testimonies. Lord Hollis had more temper than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord Halifax was of the same mind. But the Earl of Shaftesbury could not bear the discourse: he said, 'WE MUST SUPPORT THE EVIDENCE, and that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were to be looked on as PUBLIC ENEMIES.'"²

This passage requires no comment. The charge against Pepys was in truth a heavy one, — that of hypocrisy and dissimulation in matters of religion: it is sufficiently refuted by this view of the principles and conduct of him who was the chief instigator, as well as the chief witness in the case; but with respect to the religion of Pepys, these volumes supply conclusive information. He was educated in the pure

¹ He here alludes, probably, to the projected exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, a measure for which abundant cause has been given. The only real Popish Plot was the plot of the King and his brother. They, and not the wretched victims of this persecution, had conspired with France to subvert the religion and liberties of a people, to whose ill-requited loyalty they had been so recently and so largely indebted.

² Burnet, "History of his own Time," 1678.

and reformed faith of the Church of England. To that he adhered through life, and in that he died. In some of the earliest pages of his Diary, how interesting are the accounts of his attendance on the worship of that Church, when her rites were administered to a scattered flock by a few faithful and courageous men, who met for that purpose in secret and in danger, like the Fathers of the primitive Church under the tyranny of their heathen persecutors! After the Restoration, the confidential servant of the Duke of York, and the Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles II. and James II., saw, undoubtedly, how much his temporal interests would be promoted by his conversion to that faith which both those Princes had embraced, and for the propagation of which the last of them, his immediate patron, manifested such a bigoted and fanatical enthusiasm. But there is no reason for believing that any such temptation ever entered into his mind; or, if it did, the reader will see, in the close of this Memoir, the most satisfactory proofs that it was steadily and successfully resisted.

In the summer of 1673, the Duke of York having resigned all his employments, upon the passing of the Test Act, his Majesty called Mr. Pepys into his own service, as Secretary for the affairs of the Navy, in which important station he gained additional credit; not, however, without once more exciting the envy and malice of his enemies, who lost no opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Duke of York, by directing their attacks against all his adherents.

Accordingly, in the turbulent juncture of the Popish Plot, complaint having been made in the House of Commons of various miscarriages in the Navy, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, in which Mr. Harbord, Member for Thetford, took the lead against Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane.¹ They were accused on the depositions of Colonel John Scott, and others, of sending secret particulars respecting the English Navy to the French Government, in order to assist in the design of dethroning the King, and extirpating the Protestant religion ; and Mr. Pepys was again charged with being himself a Roman Catholic, and a great favourer of that party. They were committed to the Tower, under the Speaker's warrant, May 22nd, 1679. On the 2nd of June both prisoners were brought to the Bar of the King's Bench, when bail being denied them, their Counsel pressed for a speedy trial, which the Attorney-General refused, upon the ground that he expected more evidence of their treasonable correspondence with France. They were then remanded to the Tower, and, after being brought up a second and third time, allowed to find security in 30,000*l.* ; and though they subsequently appeared in Court four times more, the trial was always postponed upon the same plea. At length, on February 12th, they moved by Counsel to be discharged ; and on the Attorney-

¹ There is a pamphlet, which I never saw, called " Plain Truth, or a Private Discourse between (P)*epys* and (H)*arbord*, about the Navy," printed, I believe, in 1679.

General's stating that Scott now refused to acknowledge the truth of his original deposition, upon which the whole charge rested, the prisoners were relieved from their bail, and their motion was acceded to on the first day of the next Term, with the consent of the Law Officers of the Crown.

It is impossible to recur to these unjust and arbitrary proceedings without feelings of disgust ; but the accusation being so serious, it seems due to the characters of the parties suspected, to examine the allegations closer. On reference to the papers still extant, in which the whole case is detailed, I find that numerous affidavits were made by persons resident in France, Holland, America, and England, all agreeing as to the infamy of Scott's character. We are also informed in the Correspondence, that he was afterwards obliged to quit the country precipitately, having killed a coachman in a fray, for which offence he was outlawed. It farther appears, that a principal witness against Mr. Pepys, named James, formerly his butler, had deposed before the Committee to his master's being a Roman Catholic ; and that Morelli, who lived with him, though engaged under pretence of teaching him music, was a priest in disguise. But on his own apprehension, James confessed that he had invented the whole story, at the instigation of Mr. Harbord, who had held out promises and rewards to him through Colonel Mansell and Mr. Alexander Harris ; and he swore to this recantation before several witnesses. In addition to these exculpatory facts, we have the testimony of Evelyn,

who mentions in his Diary that he dined with Mr. Pepys, then a prisoner in the Tower, and believed him to be unjustly accused.

In the mean time, Charles II. again thought fit to change the constitution of the Admiralty; owing to which arrangement, the nation lost the benefit of Mr. Pepys's services therein, but he had the honour of attending his Royal Master for ten days at Newmarket, in October, 1680, and on this occasion took down in short-hand, from the King's own mouth, the Narrative, since published, of his Majesty's escape after the battle of Worcester.

In September, 1683, Mr. Pepys was again brought into notice, having received the King's commands to accompany Lord Dartmouth on the expedition for demolishing Tangier: at the same time, he profited by the opportunity of making large excursions into Spain, as he had formerly done into France, Flanders, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; not to mention his lesser voyages with the Duke of York, and especially one to Scotland in the preceding year, when he narrowly escaped shipwreck, by being on board his own yacht.¹

From the Tangier expedition Mr. Pepys returned the following spring; and the King having himself assumed the office of High Admiral, he was, "by the Royal commands, neither sought for nor foreseen, but brought to him expressly by Lord Dartmouth from Windsor,"² constituted Secretary for the affairs of the

¹ *Vide* Correspondence, p. 142.

² Mr. Pepys's own words in speaking of the transaction.

Admiralty, which office he continued to fill during the remainder of Charles II.'s reign, and the whole of that of his successor, whose confidence he had long most deservedly enjoyed : so much so, that the curious circumstance respecting the religion of Charles II., related by Evelyn, rests chiefly upon the authority of Mr. Pepys, to whom King James himself had communicated it. We are also told, that when his Majesty was sitting to Kneller for his picture,¹ intended as a present to the Secretary of the Admiralty, news coming of the Prince of Orange having landed, the King, with the utmost composure, desired the painter to proceed and finish the portrait, that his good friend might not be disappointed.

The history of the period from Mr. Pepys's committal to the Tower to the abdication of James II., so far as the administration of the Navy is concerned, and the part borne by him therein, will be found fully and elegantly detailed in his Memoirs, published in 1690, which the reader may consult for his more ample satisfaction.² From the perusal of this interesting little Tract, as well as many parts of the Work now published, it may be seen how erroneously the merit of restoring the Navy to its pristine splendour has been assigned to James II. by his different Biographers. Mr.

¹ Now in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerell, and engraved by Vertue.

² There is a small book in the Pepysian Library, entitled "A Relation of the Troubles in the Court of Portugal in 1667 and 8, by S. P. Esqre," London, 1677, 12mo.; of which Watt states Mr. Pepys to have been the author. — *Vide* "Bibliotheca Britan."

Stanier Clarke,¹ in particular, actually dwells upon the essential and lasting benefit which that Monarch conferred on his country, by *building up and regenerating the Naval Power*; and asserts, as *a proof of the King's great ability*, that *the regulations still enforced under the orders of the Admiralty, are nearly the same as those originally drawn up by him*. It becomes due therefore to Mr. Pepys, to explain, that for these improvements, the value of which no person can doubt, we are indebted to him, and not to his Royal Master. To establish this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the MSS. connected with the subject, in the Bodleian and Pepysian Libraries, by which the extent of Mr. Pepys's official labours can alone be appreciated; and we even find in the Diary, as early as 1668, that a long letter of regulation, produced before the Commissioners of the Navy by the Duke of York, *as his own composition*, was entirely written by the Clerk of the Acts.

Upon the accession of William and Mary, Mr. Pepys lost his official employments, and the Electors of Harwich, unmindful of his having served them in three successive Parliaments, and perhaps naturally jealous of his avowed attachment to the exiled Monarch, refused, after a slight struggle, to return him to the Convention. He retired consequently into private life, trusting that he should be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity, and the enjoyment

¹ *Vide* "Memoirs of James II."

of literary society, for which his various acquirements so peculiarly qualified him. He was, however, soon disturbed by the malice of his enemies, who, in June, 1690, procured his committal to the Gatehouse, upon pretence of his being affected to King James ; but he was soon permitted, on account of ill health, to return to his own house, and there is no farther mention of the charge ; though, even in 1692, he appears to have apprehended some fresh persecution, being obliged (as he himself observes) to enjoy his *otium* without the company of more of his books and papers, than he was willing should be visited and disturbed. We are assured too, that notwithstanding political prejudices, and the bitterness of party spirit, Mr. Pepys was very generally consulted up to the time of his death, and looked upon as an oracle in all matters concerning the Navy ; and, as far as the difficulties of the times allowed him opportunity, he seemed uniformly anxious to point out any improvement likely to benefit the service to which he had so long been an ornament.

Nor was the period of his retirement in other respects spent in an unprofitable manner, part of which he devoted with great application, and no small expense, to the restoration of the government of Christ's Hospital to its pristine purity ; and he succeeded in preserving from impending ruin the Mathematical Foundation there, which had been originally designed by him, and, through his almost sole solicitations, endowed and cherished by his two Royal Masters.

The estimation in which Mr. Pepys was held for his

literary attainments, had raised him in 1684 to the high station of President of the Royal Society, which he filled during two years with credit and ability. After he had relinquished the office, he was in the habit of entertaining the most distinguished members of that learned body, on Saturday evenings, at his house in York Buildings, where they assembled for the discussion of literary subjects, and the encouragement of the liberal arts. To the dissolution of these meetings, occasioned by the increasing infirmities of their Founder, Evelyn adverts in his letters, in terms of the strongest regret: nor could a person of his enlightened mind fail to derive the most heartfelt gratification from witnessing so many of his contemporaries eagerly devoting the small portion of their lives that remained, to the cultivation of science and the acquirement of useful knowledge.

Another portion of his fruitful recess the Author of the Diary set apart for the arrangement of his extensive collections, obtained, at an immense cost, for the general history of the *Navalia* of England, which he had promised to the public; but age and ill health intervening, he was deprived of the vigour and opportunities requisite for completing the work; and it remains a desideratum to this day.

Of his munificence, as a patron of literature, the numerous books dedicated to Mr. Pepys furnish ample testimony; and in the Preface to *Willoughby's Historia Piscium*, 1684, he is justly styled by Mr. Ray, "Ingenuarum Artium, et Eruditorum Fautor et Patro-

nus eximius," as having contributed no fewer than sixty plates to that work. He was also a considerable benefactor to St. Paul's School, and a subscriber to the New Court at Magdalene College.

Of his tender affection to his parents, the Diary affords many instances ; and his liberality, at a time when he was far from rich, in giving his sister Mrs. Jackson £600 as a marriage portion, is worthy of mention. Nor did his kindness to the family terminate here, as he took the management of her two sons, who were left orphans when very young, and wholly unprovided for, and educated them at his own expense. Samuel, the eldest, contracting extravagant habits early in life, and making a discreditable marriage, soon forfeited all claim to his relative's further good offices, while his brother John lived to repay the kindness shown to him. After completing his studies at Magdalene College, he was sent, under the auspices of his uncle, to make the tour of Italy and Spain ; and on his return, being received once more under his benefactor's roof, ultimately inherited his property, as a reward for the attentions with which he had soothed his declining years.

Mr. Pepys's valuable life was now drawing gradually to a close. By the too continued exercises of his mind, without any consideration to his advanced age, he had destroyed his constitution, long before impaired by the stone. On this account the physicians persuaded him, in 1700, to bid adieu to York Buildings, and retire, for the sake of change of air, and repose,

to the seat of his old friend and servant, William Hewer, at Clapham. Nor could a more eligible retreat have been selected, nor a kinder companion, than that cherished individual, whose amiable qualities, and disinterested gratitude to his patron, under circumstances of no common difficulty, entitle him to the highest commendation which can be bestowed.¹ Mr. Pepys, however, still persevered in the same studious occupations; and with the greater intenseness, as he was less exposed to interruption: the object of his removal was consequently frustrated, and he consummated the ruin of his health, and expired, after a lingering illness, May 26, 1703.

Though he lived in an age when religious duties were too generally neglected, and even ridiculed, Mr. Pepys retained the habit, acquired in his earliest youth, of constantly attending the service of the Church of England, and receiving the Holy Sacrament.² It is

¹ Far different was the conduct of Josiah Burchett, and James Southerne, who had both been footboys in Mr. Pepys's service; and rising, through his interest, to high stations in the Admiralty, lived to forget their benefactor, and even treat him with neglect and disrespect.

² Upon this subject, the Certificate which follows, copied from the original in the Bodleian Library, appears too interesting to be omitted: —

“MAY 22, 1681.

“I, DANIEL MILLES, Doctor in Divinity, present (and for above twenty yeares last past) Rector of the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London, doe hereby certify, that Samuel Pepys, Esq. some time one of the principall Officers and Commissioners of his Majestie's Navy, and since Secretary of the Admiralty of England, became (with his family) an inhabitant of the said Parish, about the month of June, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660, and so continued (without intermission) for the space of thirteen yeares, viz. untill about the same month in the yeare 1673, when he was called thence to attend his Majesty in his said Secretaryship: during all which time, the said Mr. Pepys

further gratifying to his Biographer, to be able to trace in the Correspondence, that, as he advanced in years, he turned his mind more earnestly to serious thoughts, and devoutly prepared for the change which awaited him. Nor could the example of the virtuous Evelyn, whose friendship and society he had so long enjoyed, and cultivated to the last moments of his life, have been useless or unprofitable in this particular. The tranquillity of mind, and pious resignation, which he evinced on his death-bed, with some interesting details on the subject of his last illness, are so well related in the following letters, that no apology can be deemed necessary for their insertion : —

and his whole family were constant attenders upon the publick worship of God and his holy Ordinances, (under my administration,) according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, established by Law, without the least appearance or suggestion had of any inclination towards Popery, either in himself or any of his family; his Lady receiving the Holy Sacrament (in company with him, the said Mr. Pepys, her husband, and others) from my hand, according to the rites of the Church of England, upon her death-bed few houres before her decease, in the year 1669.

“And I doe hereby further certify, that the said Mr. Pepys hath, from the determination of his said residence in this parish, continued to receive the Holy Communion with the inhabitants thereof, to this day; so that I verily beleeeve hee never failed, within the whole space of one and twenty yeares last past, (viz. from June 1660,) to this instant 22d of May, (being Whitsunday in the year 1681,) of communicating publickly in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the inhabitants of the Parish, from my hand, at any of the solemn Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, (besides his frequent monthly communicatings therein,) saving on Whitsunday 1679, when, being a prisoner in the Tower, he appears to have received it in the publick Chappell there; and at Easter last, when, by a violent sicknesse, (which confined him to his bed,) hee was to my particular knowledge rendered incapable of attending it. Witnesse my Hand, the day and the year above written.

“D. MILLES, D.D. Rectr of St Olave,
“Hart Street, Lond.”

MR JACKSON TO MR EVELYN.¹CLAPHAM, May 28th, 1703,
Friday night.

HONOURED SIR, — 'Tis no small addition to my grief, to be obliged to interrupt the quiet of your happy recess with the afflicting tidings of my Uncle Pepys's death; knowing how sensibly you will partake with me herein. But I should not be faithful to his desires, if I did not beg your doing the honour to his memory of accepting mourning from him, as a small instance of his most affectionate respect and honour for you. I have thought myself extremely unfortunate to be out of the way at that only time when you were pleased lately to touch here, and express so great a desire of taking your leave of my Uncle; which could not but have been admitted by him as a most welcome exception to his general orders against being interrupted; and I could most heartily wish that the circumstances of your health, and distance, did not forbid me to ask the favour of your assisting in the holding up of the pawll at his interment, which is intended to be on Thursday next; for if the manes are affected with what passes below, I am sure this would have been very grateful to his.

I must not omit acquainting you, Sir, that upon opening his body, (which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as public good,) there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular figures your imagination can frame, and weighing together four ounces and a half, but all fast linked together, and adhering to his back; whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone. Some other lesser defects there also were in his body, proceeding from the same cause. But his stamina, in general, were marvellously strong, and not only supported him, under the most exquisite pains, weeks

¹ From a copy of the original letter, communicated by Mr. W. Upcott.

beyond all expectations; but, in the conclusion, contended for near forty hours (unassisted by any nourishment) with the very agonies of death, some few minutes excepted before his expiring, which were very calm.

There remains only for me, under this affliction, to beg the consolation and honour of succeeding to your patronage, for my Uncle's sake; and leave to number myself, with the same sincerity he ever did, among your greatest honourers, which I shall esteem as one of the most valuable parts of my inheritances from him; being also, with the faithfulest wishes of health and a happy long life to you,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

J. JACKSON.

Mr. Hewer, as my Uncle's Executor, and equally your faithful Servant, joines with me in every part hereof.

The time of my good Uncle's departure was about three-quarters past three on Wednesday morning last.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM D^R HICKES¹
TO D^R CHARLETT.²

JUNE 5, 1703.

LAST night, at 9 a clock, I did the last office for your and my good friend, M^r Pepys, at St Olave's Church, where he was laid in a vault of his own makeing, by his wife and brother.

The greatness of his behaviour, in his long and sharp tryall before his death, was in every respect answerable to his great

¹ George Hickes, D.D., deprived of the Deanery of Worcester, which he had held five years, from February 1689-90, for refusing to take the oaths to King William. He was a person of universal learning, and author of several works upon the old Northern Languages, in which he was deeply read. Ob. 1714, æt. suæ 74.

² From the original in the Bodleian Library, communicated by Dr. Bandinel.

life; and I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come. I administered the Holy Sacrament twice in his illness to him, and had administered it a third time, but for a sudden fit of illness that happened at the appointed time of administering of it. Twice I gave him the absolution of the Church, which he desired, and received with all reverence and comfort, and I never attended any sick, or dying person, that dyed with so much Christian greatnesse of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience, in so long and sharp a tryall, or greater resignation to the will, which he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God; and I doubt not but he is now a very blessed spirit, according to his motto, *MENS CUJUSQUE, IS EST QUISQUE*.

GEORGE HICKES.

Mr. Pepys, by his will bearing date May, 1703, left his estate at Brampton, and the residue of his property, charged with a few legacies, to his nephew John Jackson; to whom he also gave the use of his valuable Library and Collection of Prints, for his life, and directed that they should afterwards be removed to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and placed for ever, subject to certain restrictions and regulations, in the sole custody of the Master for the time being.¹ He

¹ In a book in the College chest are two letters, dated from Clapham, 22nd July and 6th of August, 1703, and written by Mr. Jackson, nephew and heir of Samuel Pepys, to Dr. Quadring, Master of the College, relative to the death of his uncle, and the gift of his library either to Magdalene College or to Trinity. (See Hartshorne's "Book Rarities of Cambridge.") Mr. Jackson was to retain possession for his life, and the College did not come into possession of the Library until 1724, when it was removed with the original book-cases (see Diary, August 31st, 1666) to the College. Mr. Jackson had been a member of the College. See Entry-book: "Johannes Jackson, filius Johan-

seemed conscious that his heirs would not feel satisfied with his testamentary dispositions, and accordingly inserted the following clause in his will : —

“I earnestly recommend it to my said Nephews to join with me in not repining at any disappointment they may, by the late public Providence of God, meet with in what they might otherwise have reasonably hoped for from me at my death; but to receive with thankfulness, from God’s hands, whatsoever it will prove, remembering it to be more than what either myself, or they, were born to, and therefore endeavouring, on their part, by all humble and honest endeavours to improve the same.”

He died, in fact, in very reduced circumstances; nor could it be otherwise, since he never received any pension or remuneration for his long official labours, subsequently to his retirement at the Revolution; while the habits of generosity and hospitality, in which he had indulged, when his means were more ample, terminated only with his life: and these expenses, added to the charges entailed upon him for the education of his Nephews, and the extensive collections which he was constantly making for his library, would have absorbed a larger income than he had ever possessed. There was also a balance of 28,007*l.* 2*s.* 1¼*d.* due to him from the Crown, on a long unsettled account, which had grown up during his employments as Treasurer for Tangier, Clerk of the Acts, and Secretary to the Admiralty; and which he bequeathed specifically to be laid out in the purchase

nis, de Brampton in Comitatu Huntingdoniæ, 15 annos tantum natus, e schola publica Huntingdoniæ admissus Pensionarius. Tutore Magistro Millington Junii 28° 1686.” (M. B.)

of lands for the use of his Nephew and his heirs. The original vouchers relating to this transaction, as verified on oath by the claimant himself, before Chief Baron Warde, are still in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerel, the representative of the family ; but the times which immediately preceded and followed his decease were not favourable to the liquidation of the debt, however due as an act of justice, as well as a tribute to the memory of so good and faithful a servant of the public. It is farther to be remarked, that though Mr. Pepys's funeral was conducted in a manner suitable to the station which he had adorned,¹ no stone, however humble, marks the spot within St. Olave's church in which his remains were deposited ; the vault is, however, probably contiguous to the monument erected by him to his wife, still to be seen.

In conclusion, I cannot resist inserting the character of Mr. Pepys, as given in the Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, from which article I am bound to acknowledge that I have already drawn largely, in my attempt to compile this hasty and imperfect Memoir.

"It may be affirmed of this Gentleman [says his contemporaneous Biographer] that he was, without exception, the greatest and most useful Minister that ever filled the same situations in England; the Acts and Registers of the Admi-

¹ " London, June 5. Yesterday in the evening were performed the obsequies of Samuel Pepys, Esq., in Crutched-Friars' Church; whither his corpse was brought in a very honourable and solemn manner from Clapham, where he departed this life, the 26th day of the last Month." — *Post Boy*, No. 1257. June 5, 1703.

rality proving this fact beyond contradiction. The principal rules and establishments in present use in those offices are well known to have been of his introducing, and most of the officers serving therein, since the Restoration, of his bringing up. He was a most studious promoter and strenuous assertor of order and discipline through all their dependencies. Sobriety, diligence, capacity, loyalty, and subjection to command, were essentials required in all whom he advanced. Where any of these were found wanting, no interest or authority were capable of moving him in favour of the highest pretender; the Royal command only excepted, of which he was also very watchful, to prevent any undue procurements. Discharging his duty to his Prince and Country with a religious application and perfect integrity, he feared no one, courted no one, neglected his own fortune. Besides this, he was a person of universal worth, and in great estimation among the Literati, for his unbounded reading, his sound judgment, his great elocution, his mastery in method, his singular curiosity, and his uncommon munificence towards the advancement of learning, arts, and industry, in all degrees: to which were joined the severest morality of a philosopher, and all the polite accomplishments of a gentleman, particularly those of music, languages, conversation, and address. He assisted, as one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, at the Coronation of James II., and was a standing Governor of all the principal houses of charity in and about London, and sat at the head of many other honourable bodies, in divers of which, as he deemed their constitution and methods deserving, he left lasting monuments of his bounty and patronage."

Annexed is an engraving of a richly chased silver cup, presented by Mr. Pepys to the Clothworkers' Company, — of which he was Master in 1677, — and still constantly used at their Festivals.



FAC SIMILE OF AN EXTRACT FROM THE SHORT-HAND M.S. DIARY.

Vol. Page 1 1st column

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The condition of the State was thus viz. The Rump after being
 disturbed by my Lord Lambert was lately returned to sit again.
 The Officers of the Army all forced to yield. — London has
 still in the River & Mouth with his Army in Scotland.

FAC SIMILE OF THE USUAL HAND-WRITING OF
 M^r PEPYS

I am (I hope God) restored to a perfect Degree of
 Health, at least as perfect as at this Time of Day. I am
 expected to see, & (I hope God) it is a good One.

This whole family also, with 1st whole & 1st of 1st
 friends taking in my Way, are well, as in all Opportunities
 are 2nd & 3rd Remembers. For God's sake you. Adieu.

Yours truly affec^{to} M^r Pepys

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

1659-60. Blessed be God, at the end of the last year I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain, but upon taking of cold.¹ I lived in Axe Yard,² having my wife, and servant Jane, and no more in family than us three.

The condition of the State was thus ; viz. the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert,³ was lately

¹ " See March 26th: " This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury Court; and did resolve while I live to keep it a festival " There is a very interesting letter, which is given in the correspondence from Pepys to his nephew, April 8th, 1700: " It has been my calamity for much the greatest part of this time to have been kept bed-ridden, under an evil so rarely known as to have had it matter of universal surprise and with little less general opinion of its dangerousness; namely, that the cicatrice of a wound occasioned upon my cutting for the stone, without hearing anything of it in all this time, should after more than 40 years' perfect cure, break out again," &c. (M. B.)

² Pepys's house was on the south side of King Street, Westminster; it is singular that when he removed to a residence in the city, he should have settled close to another Axe Yard. Fludyer Street stands on the site of Axe Yard, which derived its name from a great messuage or brewhouse on the west side of King Street, called " The Axe," and referred to in a document of the 23rd of Henry VIII.

³ Sufficiently known by his services as a major-general in the Parliament forces during the Civil War, and condemned as a traitor after the Restoration; but reprieved and banished to Guernsey, where he lived in confinement thirty

returned to sit again. The officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson¹ lies still in the river, and Monk² is with his army in Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is not yet come into the Parliament, nor is it expected that he will without being forced to it. The new Common Council of the City do speak very high; and had sent to Monk their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a free and full Parliament, which is at present the desires, and the hopes, and expectation of all. Twenty-two of the old secluded members having been at the House-door the last week to demand entrance, but it was denied them; and it is believed that neither they nor the people will be satisfied till the House be filled. My own private condition very handsome, and esteemed rich, but indeed very poor; besides my goods of my house, and my office, which at present is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Downing³ master of my office.

years. He is styled "Lord" not by right, nor even by courtesy: the title was often given to the republican officers and their dependants.

¹ Sir John Lawson, the son of a poor man at Hull, rose to the rank of Admiral, and distinguished himself during the Protectorate; and, though a republican in his heart, readily closed with the design of restoring the King. He was mortally wounded in the sea-fight in 1665. He must not be confounded with another John Lawson, the Royalist, of Brough Hall, in Yorkshire, who was created a Baronet by Charles II., July 6, 1665.

² George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

³ Wood has misled us in stating that Sir George Downing, here mentioned, was a son of Dr. Calibut Downing, the rector of Hackney. He was beyond doubt the son of Emmanuel Downing, a London merchant, who went to New England. It is not improbable that Emmanuel was a near kinsman of Calibut; how related has not yet been discovered. Governor Hutchinson, in his "*History of Massachusetts*," gives the true account of Downing's affiliation, which has been further confirmed by Mr. Savage, of Boston, from

Jan. 1st (Lord's day). This morning (we living lately in the garret,) I rose, put on my suit with great skirts, having not lately worn any other clothes but them. Went to Mr. Gunning's¹ chapel at Exeter House,² where he made a very good sermon upon these words:—"That in the fulness of time God sent his Son, made of a woman," &c.; showing, that, by "made under the law," is meant his circumcision, which is solemnized this day. Dined at home in the garret, where my wife dressed the remains of a turkey, and in the doing of it she burned her hand. I staid at home the whole afternoon, looking over my accounts; then went with my wife to my father's, and

the public records of New England. Wood calls Downing a sider with all times and changes: skilled in the common cant, and a preacher occasionally. He was sent by Cromwell to Holland, as resident there. About the Restoration, he espoused the King's cause, and was knighted and elected M.P. for Morpeth, in 1661. Afterwards, becoming Secretary to the Treasury and Commissioner of the Customs, he was in 1663 created a Baronet of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire, and was again sent Ambassador to Holland. His grandson of the same name, who died in 1749, was the founder of Downing College, Cambridge. The title became extinct in 1764, upon the decease of Sir John Gerrard Downing, the last heir male of the family. The office appears to have been in the Exchequer, and connected with the pay of the army. Sir George Downing's character will be found in Lord Clarendon's "*Life*," vol. iii. p. 4. Pepys's opinion seems to be somewhat of a mixed kind. Ludlow, in his "*Memoirs*," bitterly inveighs against Downing, who had been Okey's chaplain, and had received many obligations at his hands.

¹ Peter Gunning, afterwards master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely: ob. 1684. He had continued to read the Liturgy at the chapel at Exeter House when the Parliament was most predominant, for which Cromwell often rebuked him. — Wood's *Athenæ*.

² Exeter House, here mentioned, on the north side of the Strand, was built by Lord Burleigh, whose son was the first Earl of Exeter, from whom it was named: nearly on the same site stood Exeter Change, which has given place to the present Exeter Hall.

in going observed the great posts which the City have set up at the Conduit in Fleet-street. Supt at my father's, where in came Mrs. The. Turner and Madam Morrice, and supt with us. After that my wife went home with them, and so to our own home.

2nd. In the morning before I went forth old East brought me a dozen of bottles of sack, and I gave him a shilling for his pains. Then I went to Mr. Shepley, who was drawing of sack in the wine cellar to send to other places as a gift from my Lord, and told me that my Lord had given him order to give me the dozen of bottles. Then I went to the Temple to speak with Mr. Calthropp about the £60 due to my Lord, but missed of him, he being abroad. Then I went to Mr. Crew's, and borrowed £10 of Mr. Andrews for my own use, and so went to my office, where there was nothing to do. Then I walked a great while in Westminster Hall, where I heard that Lambert was coming up to London; that my Lord Fairfax was in the head of the Irish brigade, but it was not certain what he would declare for. The House was to-day upon finishing the act for the Council of State, which they did; and for the indemnity to the soldiers; and were to sit again thereupon in the afternoon. Great talk that many places have declared for a free Parliament; and it is believed that they will be forced to fill up the House with the old members. From the Hall I called at home, and so went to Mr. Crew's¹

¹ John Crewe, Esq., created Baron Crewe of Stene at the coronation of

(my wife she was to go to her father's), thinking to have dined, but I came too late, so Mr. Moore and I and another gentleman went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner. After that Mr. Moore and I went as far as Fleete-streete together and parted, he going into the City, I to find Mr. Calthropp, but failed again of finding him, so returned to Mr. Crew's again, and from thence went along with Mrs. Jemimah home, and there she taught me how to play at cribbage. Then I went home, and finding my wife gone to see Mrs. Hunt, I went to Will's, and there sat with Mr. Ashwell talking and singing till nine o'clock, and so home, there, having not eaten but bread and cheese, my wife cut me a slice of brawn which I received from my Lady, which proves as good as ever I had any. So to bed, and my wife had a very bad night of it through wind and cold.

3rd. I went out in the morning, it being a great frost, and walked to Mrs. Turner's to stop her from coming to see me to-day, because of Mrs. Jem's coming, thence I went to the Temple to speak with Mr. Calthropp, and walked in his chamber an hour, but could not see him, so to Westminster, where I found soldiers in my office to receive money, and paid it them. At noon went home, where Mrs. Jem, her

Charles II. He married Jemima, daughter and co-heir to Edward Walgrave, Esq., of Lawford, co. Essex.

Pepys invariably spells the name without the final *e*; in general he is not particular in his way of spelling proper names. (M. B.)

mayde, Mr. Shepley, Hawley, and Moore dined with me on a piece of beef and cabbage, and a collar of brawn. We then fell to cards till dark, and then I went home with Mrs. Jem, and meeting Mr. Hawley got him to bear me company to Chancery Lane, where I spoke with Mr. Calthropp, he told me that Sir James Calthropp was lately dead, but that he would write to his Lady, that the money may be speedily paid. Thence back to White Hall, where I understood that the Parliament had passed the act for indemnity for the soldiers and officers that would come in, in so many days, and that my Lord Lambert should have benefit of the said act. They had also voted that all vacancies in the House, by the death of any of the old members, shall be filled up ; but those that are living shall not be called in. Thence I went home, and there found Mr. Hunt and his wife, and Mr. Hawley, who sat with me till ten at night at cards, and so broke up and to bed.

4th. Early came Mr. Vanley to me for his half-year's rent, which I have not in the house, but took his man to the office and there paid him. Then I went down into the Hall and to Will's, where Hawley brought a piece of his Cheshire cheese, and we were merry with it. Then into the Hall again, where I met with the Clerk and Quarter Master of my Lord's troop, and took them to the Swan and gave them their morning's draft, they being just come to town. Mr Jenkins shewed me two bills of exchange for money to receive upon my Lord's and my pay. It snowed hard

all this morning, and was very cold, and my nose was much swelled with cold. Strange the difference of men's talk ! Some say that Lambert must of necessity yield up ; others, that he is very strong, and that the Fifth-monarchy-men will stick to him, if he declares for a free Parliament. Chillington was sent yesterday to him with the vote of pardon and indemnity from the Parliament. From the Hall I came home, where I found letters from Hinchinbroke and news of Mr. Shepley's going thither the next week. I dined at home, and from thence went to Will's to Shaw, who promised me to go along with me to Atkinson's about some money, but I found him at cards with Spicer and D. Vines, and could not get him along with me. I was vexed at this, and went and walked in the Hall, where I heard that the Parliament spent this day in fasting and prayer ; and in the afternoon came letters from the North, that brought certain news that my Lord Lambert his forces were all forsaking him, and that he was left with only fifty horse, and that he did now declare for the Parliament himself ; and that my Lord Fairfax ¹ did also rest satisfied, and had laid

¹ Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generalissimo of the Parliament forces. After the Restoration he retired to his country seat, where he lived in private till his death in 1671. In a volume (autograph) of Lord Fairfax's poems, preserved in the British Museum, 11744, f. 42, the following lines occur upon the 30th of January, on which day the King was beheaded. It is believed that they have never been printed.

“O let that day from time be bloted quitt,
 And beleef of't in next age be waved,
 In deepest silence that act concealed might,
 That so the creadet of our nation might be saved;

down his arms, and that what he had done was only to secure the country against my Lord Lambert his raising of money, and free quarter. I went to Will's again, where I found them still at cards, and Spicer had won 14s. of Shaw and Vines. Then I spent a little time with G. Vines and Maylard at Vines's at our viols. So home, and from thence to Mr. Hunt's, and sat with them and Mr. Hawley at cards till ten at night, and was much made of by them.

5th. I went to my office, where the money was again expected from the Excise office, but none brought, but was promised to be sent this afternoon. I dined with Mr. Shepley,¹ at my Lord's² lodgings, upon his turkey-pie. And so to my office again; where the Excise money was brought, and some of it

But if the powre devine hath ordered this,
His will's the law, and our must acquess."

These wretched verses have obviously no merit: but they are curious as showing that Fairfax, who had refused to act as one of Charles I.'s judges, continued long afterwards to entertain a proper horror for that unfortunate monarch's fate. It has recently been pointed out to me, that the lines were not originally composed by Fairfax, being only a poor translation of the spirited lines of Statius, *Sylvarum*, lib. v. cap. ii. l. 88: —

"Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant
Secula, nos certè taceamus; et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis."

These verses were first applied by the President de Thou to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572; and in our day, by Mr. Pitt, in his memorable speech in the House of Commons, January 1793, after the murder of Louis XVI.

¹ He seems to have been the steward at Hinchbrook.

² Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, uniformly styled "My Lord" throughout the Diary. His title, before his elevation to the peerage, being of the same nature as that of Lord Lambert, already explained.

told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament hath this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49, were duly discharged ; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Then my wife and I, it being a great frost, went to Mrs. Jem's,¹ in expectation to eat a sack-posset, but Mr. Edward not coming it was put off ; and so I left my wife playing at cards with her, and went myself with my lanthorne to Mr. Fage, to consult concerning my nose, who told me it was nothing but cold, and after that we did discourse concerning public business ; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they are resolved to shake off the soldiers ; and that unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament. From thence I went to my father's, where I found Mrs. Ramsey and her grandchild, a pretty girle, and staid a while and talked with them and my mother, and then took my leave, only heard of an invitation to go to dinner to-morrow to my cozen Thomas Pepys. I went back to Mrs.

¹ This lady, mentioned frequently in the Diary, was Jemima, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Montagu. She had been ill ; and during her father's absence abroad, seems to have been left under the superintendence of Pepys, in a London lodging. Mr. Edward was her eldest brother. He is afterwards called Lord Hinchinbroke.

Jem, and took my wife and Mrs. Shepley, and went home.

6th. This morning Mr. Shepley and I did eat our breakfast at Mrs. Harper's, (my brother John¹ being with me,) upon a cold turkey-pie and a goose. From thence I went to my office, where we paid money to the soldiers till one o'clock, and I took my wife to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, and found them just sat down to dinner, which was very good; only the venison pasty was palpable beef, which was not handsome. After dinner I took my leave, leaving my wife with my cozen Stradwick, and went to Westminster to Mr. Vines, where George and I fiddled a good while, Dick and his wife and her sister being there, but Mr. Hudson not coming according to his promise, I went away, and calling at my house on the wench, I took her and the lanthorne with me to my cozen Stradwick, where, after a good supper, there being there my father, mother, brothers, and sister, my cozen Scott and his wife, Mr. Drinkwater and his wife, and her brother, Mr. Stradwick, we had a brave cake brought us, and in the choosing Pall² was Queen, and Mr. Stradwick was King. After that my wife and I bid adieu and came home, it being still a great frost.

¹ John Pepys, afterwards in holy orders, died unmarried in 1677, at which time he held some office at the Trinity House. — PEPYS'S *MS. Letters*. Samuel Pepys, in his book of "Signs Manual," describes him as "my brother and successor in my office, as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, under King Charles II."

² Paulina, his sister, afterwards married to Mr. John Jackson. See March 2nd, 1667-68. — (M.P.)

7th. At my office as I was receiving money of the probate of wills, in came Mrs. Turner, Theoph. Madame Morrice, and Joyce, and after I had done I took them home to my house, and Mr. Hawley came after, and I got a dish of steaks and a rabbit for them, while they were playing a game or two at cards. In the middle of our dinner a messenger from Mr. Downing came to fetch me to him, so leaving Mr. Hawley there, I went and was forced to stay till night in expectation of the French Ambassador, who at last came, and I had a great deal of good discourse with one of his gentlemen concerning the reason of the difference between the zeal of the French and the Spaniard. After he was gone I went home, and found my friends still at cards, and after that I went along with them to Dr. Whores (sending my wife to Mrs. Jem's to a sack-posset), where I heard some symphony and songs of his own making, performed by Mr. May, Harding, and Mallard. Afterwards I put my friends into a coach, and went to Mrs. Jem's, where I wrote a letter to my Lord by the post, and had my part of the posset which was saved for me, and so we went home, and put in at my Lord's lodgings, where we staid late, eating of part of his turkey-pie, and reading of Quarles' Emblems. So home and to bed.

8th (Lord's day). In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where a good sermon, wherein he showed the life of Christ, and told us good authority for us to believe that Christ did follow his father's trade, and was a carpenter till thirty years of age. From thence

to my father's to dinner, where I found my wife, who was forced to dine there, we not having one coal of fire in the house, and it being very hard frosty weather. In the afternoon my father, he going to a man's to demand some money due to my Aunt Bell, my wife and I went to Mr. Messums, where a strange doctor made a very good sermon. From thence sending my wife to my father's, I went to Mrs. Turner's, and staid a little while, and then to my father's, where I found Mr. Shepley, and after supper went home together. Here I heard of the death of Mr. Palmer, and that he was to be buried at Westminster to-morrow.

9th. For these two or three days I have been much troubled with thoughts how to get money to pay them that I have borrowed money of, by reason of my money being in my uncle's hands. I rose early this morning, and looked over and corrected my brother John's speech, which he is to make the next apposition,¹ and after that I went towards my office, and in my way met with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price, and went with them to Harper's and staid till two of the clock in the afternoon. I found Muddiman a good scholar, an arch rogue; and owns that though he writes new books for the Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money; and did talk very basely of many of them. Among other things, W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobell²

¹ Declamations at St. Paul's School, in which there were opponents and respondents.

² H. Scobell, clerk to the House of Commons.

was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the journal of the House, for the year 1653, these words: "This day his Excellence the Lord G. Cromwell dissolved this House;" which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He answered that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by virtue of his office, and the practice of his predecessor;¹ and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G.; and that for the word dissolved, he never at the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself when it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; but they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the act of indemnity or no. Thence I went with Muddiman to the Coffee-House, and gave 18*s.* to be entered of the Club. Thence into the Hall, where I heard for certain that Monk was coming to London, and that Bradshaw's² lodgings were preparing for him. Thence to Mrs. Jem's, and found her in bed, and she was afraid that

¹ Henry Elsing.

² John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, President of the High Court of Justice.

it would prove the small-pox. Thence back to Westminster Hall, where I heard how Sir H. Vane¹ was this day voted out of the House, and to sit no more there ; and that he would retire himself to his house at Raby,² as also all the rest of the nine officers that had their commissions formerly taken away from them, were commanded to their farthest houses from London during the pleasure of the Parliament. Here I met with the Quarter Master of my Lord's troop, and his clerk Mr. Jennings, and took them home, and gave them a bottle of wine, and the remainder of my collar of brawn, and so good night. After that came in Mr. Hawley, who told me that I was missed this day at my office, and that to-morrow I must pay all the money that I have, at which I was put to a great loss how I should get money to make up my cash, and so went to bed in great trouble.

10th. Went out early, and in my way met with Greatorrex, and at a alehouse he shewed me the first sphere of wire that ever he made, and indeed it was very pleasant ; thence to Mr. Crew's, and borrowed £10, and so to my office, and was able to pay my money. Thence into the Hall, and meeting the Quarter Master, Jennings, and Captain Rider, we went to a cook's to dinner. Thence Jennings and I into

¹ Son of a statesman of both his names, and one of the most turbulent enthusiasts produced by the Rebellion, and an inflexible republican. His execution, in 1662, for conspiring the death of Charles I. was much called in question as a measure of great severity. He is the direct ancestor of the present Duke of Cleveland. See Diary, June 14, 1662.

² Raby Castle, in Durham, still the chief seat of the Duke of Cleveland.

London (it being through heat of the sun a great thaw and dirty) to show our bills of return, and coming back drank a pint of wine at the Star in Cheapside. So to Westminster, overtaking Captain Okeshott in his silk cloak, whose sword got hold of many people in walking. Thence to the Coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen; viz. Mr. Harrington,¹ Poultny,² chairman, Gold,³ Dr. Petty,⁴ &c., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. Thence with Doling to Mother Lam's, who told me how this day Scott,⁵ was made Intelligencer, and that the rest of the members that were objected against last night, their business was to be heard this day se'nnight. Thence I went home and wrote a letter, and went to Harper's, and staid there till Tom carried it to the Postboy at Whitehall. So home to bed.

11th. Being at Will's with Captain Barker, who has paid me £300 this morning at my office, in comes

¹ James Harrington, the political writer, author of "*Oceana*," and founder of a club called the Rota, in 1659, which met at Miles's coffee-house in Old Palace Yard, and lasted only a few months. In 1661 he was sent to the Tower, on suspicion of treasonable designs. His intellects appear to have failed afterwards, and he died 1677.

² Sir William Poultny, subsequently M. P. for Westminster, and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under King William. Ob. 1691. He was grandfather to William Earl of Bath.

³ Gold, the merchant. See 20 January, 1669, and the note there, in which he is identified.

⁴ Sir William Petty, an eminent physician, and celebrated for his proficiency in every branch of science. Ob. 1687. He is the direct ancestor of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

⁵ Thomas Scott, M. P., made Secretary of State to the Commonwealth Jan. 17th following.

my father, and with him I walked, and leave him at W. Joyce's, and went myself to Mr. Crew's, but came too late to dine, and therefore after a game at shittlecock with Mr. Walgrave, to my father, and taking him from W. Joyce's, who was not abroad himself, we inquired of a porter, and by his direction went to an alehouse, where after a cup or two we parted. I went towards London, and in my way went in to see Crowley, who was now grown a very great loon and very tame. Thence to Mr. Stephen's with a pair of silver snuffers, and bought a pair of shears to cut silver, and so homeward again. From home I went to see Mrs. Jem, who was in bed, and now granted to have the small-pox. Back again, and went to the Coffee-house, but tarried not, and so home.

12th. I drink my morning at Harper's with Mr. Shepley and a seaman, and so to my office, where Captain Holland came to see me. After that I went home, and thence to the Half Moon, where I found the Captain and Mr. Billingsby and Newman, a barber, where we were very merry, and had the young man that plays so well on the Welsh harp. Billingsby paid for all. Thence home, and finding my letters this day not gone by the carrier I new sealed them, but my brother Tom coming we fell into discourse about my intention to feast the Joyces. I sent for a bit of meat for him from the cook's, and forgot to send my letters this night. So I went to bed, and in discourse broke to my wife what my thoughts were concerning my design of getting money by, &c.

13th. Coming in the morning to my office, I met with Mr. Fage and took him to the Swan.¹ He told me how high Haselrigge,² and Morley,³ the last night began at my Lord Mayor's⁴ to exclaim against the City of London, saying that they had forfeited their charter. And how the Chamberlain of the City did take them down, letting them know how much they were formerly beholding to the City, &c. He also told me that Monk's letter that came to them by the sword-bearer was a cunning piece, and that which they did not much trust to; but they were resolved to make no more applications to the Parliament, nor to pay any money, unless the secluded members be brought in, or a free Parliament chosen. Thence to my office, where nothing to do. So to Will's with Mr. Pinkney, who invited me to their feast at his Hall the next Monday. Thence I went home and took my wife and dined at Mr. Wade's, and after that we went and visited Catan. From thence home again, and my wife was very unwilling to let me go forth, but with some discontent would go out if I did, and I going forth towards Whitehall, I saw she followed me, and so I staid and took her round through Whitehall, and

¹ The Swan in Fenchurch Street.

² Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Bart., of Nosely, co. Leicester, colonel of a regiment in the Parliament army, and much esteemed by Cromwell. In March following was committed to the Tower, where he died, January, 1660-61. He was brother-in-law to Lord Brooke, who was killed at Lichfield.

³ Colonel Morley, whom Evelyn blames so strongly for not doing what Monk did. See also "Quarterly Review," vol. xix. p. 32.

⁴ Sir Thomas Allen, created a baronet at the Restoration. He was ruined by his expenses as Lord Mayor.

so carried her home angry. Thence I went to Mrs. Jem, and found her up and merry, and that it did not prove the small-pox, but only the swine-pox; so I played a game or two at cards with her. And so to Mr. Vines, where he and I and Mr. Hudson played half-a-dozen things, there being there Dick's wife and her sister. After that I went home and found my wife gone abroad to Mr. Hunt's, and came in a little after me. So to bed.

14th. Nothing to do at our office. Thence into the Hall, and just as I was going to dinner from Westminster with Mr. Moon (with whom I had been in the lobby to hear news, and had spoke with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper about my Lord's lodgings) to his house, I met with Captain Holland, who told me that he hath brought his wife to my house, so I posted home and got a dish of meat for them. They staid with me all the afternoon, and went hence in the evening. Then I went with my wife, and left her at market, and went myself to the Coffee-house, and heard exceeding good argument against Mr. Harrington's assertion, that overbalance of propriety¹ (*i.e.*, property) was the foundation of government. Home, and wrote to Hinchinbroke, and sent that and my

¹ See Trench's "Select Glossary," page 171: "All 'propriety' is now mental or moral; where material things are concerned, 'property' is the word which we use. It needs hardly to say that 'propriety' and 'property' were at the first no more than different spellings or slightly different forms of one and the same word, which now, however, have been thus usefully desynonymized. 'He provides good bounds and sufficient fences betwixt his own and his master's estate (Jacob, Gen. xxx. 36, set his flock three days' journey from Laban's), that no quarrel may arise about their *propriety*, nor suspicion that

other letter that missed of going on Thursday last. So to bed.

15th. Having been exceedingly disturbed in the night with the barking of a dog of one of our neighbours that I could not sleep for an hour or two, I slept late, and then in the morning took physic, and so staid within all day. At noon my brother John came to me, and I corrected as well as I could his Greek speech to say the Apposition, though I believe he himself was as well able to do it as myself. After that we went to read in the great Officiale about the blessing of bells in the Church of Rome. After that my wife and I in pleasant discourse till night that I went to supper, and after that to make an end of this week's notes in this book, and so to bed.

16th. In the morning I went up to Mr. Crew's, who did talk to me concerning things of state; and expressed his mind how just it was that the secluded members should come to sit again. Went from thence, and in my way went into an alehouse and drank my morning draft with Matthew Andrews and two or more of his friends, coachmen. And of one of them I did hire a coach to carry us to-morrow to Twickenham. From thence to my office, where nothing to do; but Mr. Downing came and found

his remnant hath eaten up his master's whole cloth.' " — FULLER, *The Holy State*, b. i. c. 8.

"Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole *propriety*
In Paradise of all things common else."

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, b. v. — (M. B.)

me all alone ; and did mention to me his going back into Holland, and did ask me whether I would go or no, but gave me little encouragement, but bid me consider of it ; and asked me whether I did not think that Mr. Hawley could perform the work of my office alone or no. I confess I was at a great loss, all the day after, to bethink myself how to carry this business. At noon, Harry Ethall came to me and went along with Mr. Maylard by coach as far as Salisbury Court, and there we set him down, and we went to the Clerks, where we came a little too late, but in a closet we had a very good dinner by Mr. Pinkny's courtesy, and after dinner we had pretty good singing, and one, Hazard, sung alone after the old fashion, which was very much cried up, but I did not like it. Thence we went to the Green Dragon, on Lambeth Hill, both the Mr. Pinkny's, Smith, Harrison, Morrice, that sang the bass, Shepley and I, and there we sang of all sorts of things at first sight, and after that I played on my flageolette and staid there till nine o'clock, very merry and drawn on with one song after another till it came to be so late. After that Shepley, Harrison and myself, we went towards Westminster on foot, and at the Golden Lion, near Charing Cross, we went in and drank a pint of wine, and so parted, and thence home, where I found my wife and mayde a-washing. I staid up till the bell-man came by with his bell ' just

This reminds us of Milton —

“ Or the bellman's drowsy charm,
To bless the door from nightly harm.”

Il Penseroso.

under my window as I was writing of this very line, and cried, "Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning." I then went to bed, and left my wife and the mayde a-washing still.

17th. Early I went to Mr. Crew's, and having given Mr. Edward money to give the servants, I took him into the coach that waited for us and carried him to my house, where the coach waited for me while I and the child went to Westminster Hall, and I bought him some pictures. In the Hall I met Mr. Woodfine, and took him to Will's and drank with him. Thence the child and I to the coach, where my wife was ready, and so we went towards Twickenham. In our way, at Kensington we understood how that my Lord Chesterfield¹ had killed another gentleman about half an hour before, and was fled. We went forwards and

¹ Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, ob. 1713, æt. suæ 80. We learn, from the memoir prefixed to his "Printed Correspondence," that he fought three duels, disarming and wounding his first and second antagonists and killing the third. The name of the unfortunate gentleman who fell on this occasion was Woolly. Lord Chesterfield, absconding, went to Breda, where he obtained the royal pardon from Charles II. He acted a busy part in the eventful times in which he lived, and was remarkable for his steady adherence to the Stuarts. Lord Chesterfield's letter to Charles II., and the King's answer granting the royal pardon, occur in the Correspondence published by Gen. Sir John Murray, in 1829. "Jan. 17th, 1659. The Earl of Chesterfield and Dr. Woolly's son of Hammersmith, had a quarrel about a mare of eighteen pounds price: the quarrel would not be reconciled, inso-much that a challenge passed between them. They fought a duel on the back-side of Mr. Colby's house at Kensington, where the Earl and he had several passes. The Earl wounded him in two places, and would fain have then ended, but the stubbornness and pride of heart of Mr. Woolly would not give over, and the next pass [he] was killed on the spot. The Earl fled to Chelsea, and there took water and escaped. The jury found it chance-medley." RUGGE's *Diurnal*, Addit. MSS. British Museum.

came about one of the clock to Mr. Fuller's, but he was out of town, so we had a dinner there, and I gave the child 40s. to give to the two ushers. After that we parted and went homewards, it being market day at Brainford. I set my wife down and went with the coach to Mr. Crew's, thinking to have spoke with Mr. Moore and Mrs. Jem, he having told me the reason of his melancholy was some unkindness from her after so great expressions of love, and how he had spoke to her friends and had their consent, and that he would desire me to take an occasion of speaking with her, but by no means not to heighten her discontent or distaste whatever it be, but to make it up if I can. But he being out of doors, I went away and went to see Mrs. Jem, who was now very well again, and after a game or two at cards, I left her. So I went to the Coffee Club, and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr. Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of propriety¹ (*i.e.*, property) was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so to-morrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand, and the government in another. Thence I

¹ See Note. January 14th. (M. B.)

went to Westminster, and met Shaw and Washington,¹ who told me how this day Sydenham² was voted out of the House for sitting any more this Parliament, and that Salloway³ was voted out likewise and sent to the Tower, during the pleasure of the House. At Harper's Jack Price told me, among other things, how much the Protector is altered, though he would seem to bear out his trouble very well, yet he is scarce able to talk sense with a man; and how he will say that "Who should a man trust, if he may not trust to a brother and an uncle;"⁴ and "how much those men have to answer before God Almighty, for their playing the knave with him as they did." He told me also, that there was 100,000*l.* offered, and would have been taken for his restitution, had not the Parliament come in as they did again; and that he do believe that the Protector will live to give a testimony of his valour

¹ The Purser: see 1st July, 1660.

² Colonel Sydenham had been an active officer during the Civil Wars, on the Parliament side. M. P. for Dorsetshire, and Governor of Melcombe, and one of the Committee of Safety. See January 14th. Was the elder brother of the celebrated physician of that name.

³ In the journals of that date, Major Richard Salwey. Colonel Salwey is mentioned as a prisoner in the Tower, 1663-64, in Bayley's history of that fortress.

⁴ Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland during the Usurpation, became Cromwell's son-in-law by his marriage with Ireton's widow, and a member of the Council of State. He seemed disposed to have espoused Charles the Second's interests, but had not resolution enough to execute his design. At the Restoration, he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in obscurity, dying soon after the Revolution. John Desborough was Cromwell's brother-in-law, and one of his Major-Generals. Both Fleetwood and Desborough played a double game.

and revenge yet before he dies, and that the Protector will say so himself sometimes.

18th. To my office and from thence to Will's, and there Mr. Shepley brought me letters from the carrier and so I went home. After that to Wilkinson's, where we had a dinner for Mr. Talbot, Adams, Pinkny and his son, but his son did not come. Here we were very merry and while I was here, Mr. Fuller came thither and staid a little while. After that we all went to my Lord's, whither came afterwards Mr. Harrison, and by chancing Mr. Butler coming by I called him in and so we sat drinking a bottle of wine till night. At which time Mistress Ann came with the key of my Lord's study for some things, and so we all broke up and after I had gone to my house and interpreted my Lord's letter by his character¹ I came to her again and went with her to her lodging and from thence to Mr. Crew's, where I advised with him what to do about my Lord's lodgings and what answer to give to Sir Ant. Cooper and so I came home and to bed. All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do: the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them.

19th. This morning I was sent for to Mr. Downing, and at his bed side he told me, that he had a kindness for me, and that he thought that he had done me one; and that was, that he had got me to be one of the Clerks of the Council; at which I was

¹ *i. e.* cipher. See January 25. (M. B.)

a little stumbled, and could not tell what to do, whether to thank him or no ; but by and by I did ; but not very heartily, for I feared that his doing of it was only to ease himself of the salary¹ which he gives me. After that Mr. Shepley staying below all this time for me we went thence and met Mr. Pierce, so at the Harp and Ball drank our morning draft and so to Whitehall where I met with Sir Ant. Cooper and did give him some answer from my Lord and he did give us leave to keep the lodgings still. And so we did determine thereupon that Mr. Shepley might now go into the country and would do so to-morrow. Back I went by Mr. Downing's order and staid there till twelve o'clock in expectation of one to come to read some writings, but he came not, so I staid all alone reading the answer of the Dutch Ambassador² to our State, in answer to the reasons of my Lord's coming home, which he gave for his coming, and did labour herein to contradict my Lord's arguments for his coming home. Mr. Moore and I went to the French Ordinary, where Mr. Downing this day feasted Sir Arth. Haselrigge, and a great many more of the Parliament, and did stay to put in mind of me. Here he gave me a note to go and invite some other members to dinner to-morrow. So I went to White Hall, and did stay at Marsh's with Simons, Luellin, and all the rest of the Clerks of the Council, who I hear are all turned out, only the two Leighs, and they do all tell

¹ Of 50*l*. See Jan. 25th, 1659-60.

² Nieuport.

me that my name was mentioned last night, but that nothing was done in it. Hence I went and did leave some of my notes at the lodgings of the members and so home. To bed.

20th. In the morning I went to Mr. Downing's bed side and gave him an account what I had done as to his guests, and I went thence to my Lord Widdrington¹ who I met in the street, going to seal the patents for the Judges to-day, and so could not come to dinner. I called upon Mr. Calthrop about the money due to my Lord. Here I met with Mr. Woodfine and drank with him at the Sun in Chancery Lane and so to Westminster Hall, where at the lobby I spoke with the rest of my guests and so to my office. At noon went by water with Mr. May^{ld}. and Hales to the Swan in Fish Streete at our Coal Feast, where we were very merry at our Jole of Ling, and from thence after a great and good dinner Mr. Falconberge would go drink a cup of ale. Thence calling on Mr. Stephens and Wootton (with whom I drank) about business of my Lord's I went to the Coffee Club where there was nothing done but choosing of a Committee for orders. Thence to Westminster Hall where Mrs. Lane and the rest of the mayds had their white scarfs, all having been at the burial of a young bookseller in the Hall.² Thence to Mr. Shepley's and took

¹ Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knight, Serjeant-at-Law, one of Cromwell's Commissioners of the Treasury, appointed Speaker 1656, and first Commissioner for the Great Seal, January, 1659; he was M. P. for York.

² Several old views of the Hall represent the book-stalls.

him to my house and drank with him in order to his going to-morrow. So parted and I sat up late making up my accounts before he go. This day three citizens of London¹ went to meet Monk from the Common Council.

21st. Up early in finishing my accounts and writing to my Lord and from thence to my Lord's and took leave of Mr. Shepley and possession of the keys and the house. Thence to my office for some money to pay Mr. Shepley and sent it him by the old man. I then went to Mr. Downing who chid me because I did not give him notice of some of his guests failed him but I told him that I sent our porter to tell him and he was not within, but he told me that he was within till past twelve o'clock. So the porter or he lied. Thence to my office where nothing to do. Then with Mr. Hawley he and I went to Mr. Crew's and dined there. Thence into London to Mr. Vernon's and I received my 25*l.* due by bill for my trooper's pay. At

¹ "Jan. 20th. Then there went out of the City, by desire of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, Alderman Fowke and Alderman Vincett, *alias* Vincent, and Mr. Broomfield, to compliment General Monk, who lay at Harborough Town, in Leicestershire."

"Jan. 21st. Because the Speaker was sick, and Lord General Monk so near London, and everybody thought that the City would suffer for their affronts to the soldiery, and because they had sent the sword-bearer to the General without the Parliament's consent, and the three Aldermen were gone to give him the welcome to town, these four lines were in almost everybody's mouth: —

Monk under a hood, not well understood,
The City pull in their horns;
The Speaker is out, and sick of the gout,
And the Parliament sit upon thorns."

RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

the Mitre,¹ in Fleet-street, in our way calling on Mr. Fage, who told me how the City have some hopes of Monk. Thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to come hither from Paget's. Thence to Mrs. Jem and gave her 5*l*. So home and left my money and to Whitehall where Luellin and I drank and talked together an hour at Marsh's and so up to the clerks' room, where poor Mr. Cook, a black man, that is like to be put out of his clerk's place, came and railed at me for endeavouring to put him out and get myself in, when I was already in a good condition. But I satisfied him and after I had wrote a letter there to my Lord, wherein I gave him an account how this day Lenthall² took his chair again, and [the House] resolved a declaration to be brought in on Monday to satisfy the world what they intend to do. So home and to bed.

22nd. I went in the morning to Mr. Messum's, where I met with W. Thurburn and sat in his pew. A very eloquent sermon about the duty of all to give good example in our lives and conversation, which I fear he himself was most guilty of not doing. After sermon, at the door by appointment my wife met me, and so to my father's to dinner, where we had not been to my shame in a fortnight before. After dinner my father shewed me a letter from Mr. Widdrington, of Christ's

¹ A tavern familiar to all readers of Boswell. "Dined by ourselves at our old rendezvous, the Mitre Tavern," &c. — BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*, May 1, 1773. (M. B.)

² William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long, or Rump Parliament, and made Keeper of the Great Seal to the Commonwealth, ob. 1662.

College, in Cambridge, wherein he do express very great kindness for my brother, and my father intends that my brother shall go to him. To church in the afternoon to Mr. Herring,¹ where a lazy poor sermon. This day I began to put on buckles to my shoes, which I have bought yesterday of Mr. Wotton.

23rd. In the morning called out to carry £20 to Mr. Downing, which I did and came back, and finding Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, I took him to the Axe and gave him his morning draft. Thence to my office and there did nothing but make up my balance. Came home and found my wife dressing of the girl's head, by which she was made to look very pretty. I went out and paid Wilkinson what I did owe him, and brought a piece of beef home for dinner. Thence I went out and paid Waters, the vintner, and went to see Mrs. Jem, where I found my Lady Wright, but Scott was so drunk that he could not be seen. Here I staid and made up Mrs. Ann's bills, and played a game or two at cards, and thence to Westminster Hall, it being very dark. I paid Mrs. Michell, my book-seller, and back to Whitehall, and in the garden, going through to the Stone Gallery I fell into a ditch, it being very dark. At the Clerk's chamber I met with Simons and Luellin, and went with them to Mr. Mount's chamber at the Cock Pit, where we had some rare pot venison, and ale to abundance till almost twelve at night, and after a song round we went home.

¹ John Herring, a Presbyterian minister, who was afterwards ejected from St. Bride's in Fleet Street. See August 17th, 1662.

This day the Parliament sat late, and resolved of the declaration to be printed for the people's satisfaction, promising them a great many good things.

24th. In the morning to my office, where, after I had drank my morning draft at Will's with Ethell and Mr. Stevens, I went and told part of the excise money till twelve o'clock, and then called on my wife and took her to Mrs. Pierce's,¹ she in the way being exceedingly troubled with a pair of new pattens, and I vexed to go so slow, it being late. We found Mrs. Carrick very fine, and one Mr. Lucy, who called one another husband and wife, and after dinner a great deal of mad stir. There was pulling off Mrs. bride's and Mr. bridegroom's ribbons,² and a great deal of

¹ James Pierce, surgeon to the Duke of York. He was husband of the pretty Mrs. Pierce, and not Pierce the Purser. See 27th August, 1660.

² The scramble for ribbons, here mentioned by Pepys in connection with weddings (see also 26th Jan., 1660-61, and 8th Feb., 1662-63) doubtless formed part of the ceremony of undressing the bridegroom, which, as the age became more refined, fell into disuse. All the old plays are silent on the custom; the earliest notice of which occurs in the old ballad of the wedding of Arthur O'Bradley, printed in the Appendix to "Robin Hood," 1795, where we read: —

"Then got they *his points and his garters*,
And cut them in pieces like martyrs;
 And then they all did play
 For the honour of Arthur O'Bradley."

Sir Winston Churchill also observes ("Divi Britannici," p. 340) that James I. was no more troubled at his querulous countrymen robbing him than a bridegroom at the losing of his points and garters. Lady Fanshawe, in her "Memoirs," says, that at the nuptials of Charles II. and the Infanta, "the Bishop of London declared them married in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and then they caused the ribbons her Majesty wore to be cut in little pieces; and as far as they would go, every one had some." The practice still survives in the form of wedding favours.

A similar custom is still of every day's occurrence at Dieppe. Upon the

fooling among them that I and my wife did not like. Mr. Lucy and several other gentlemen coming in after dinner, swearing and singing as if they were mad, only he singing very handsomely. There came in afterwards Mr. [James] Southerne, clerk to Mr. Blackburne,¹ and with him Lambert,² lieutenant of my Lord's ship, and brought with them the declaration that came out to-day from the Parliament, wherein they declare for law and gospel, and for tythes; but I do not find people apt to believe them. After this taking leave I went to my father's, and my wife staying there, he and I went to speak with Mr. Crumlum³ (in the meantime, while it was five o'clock, he being in the school, we went to my cozen Tom Pepys' shop, the turner in Paul's Churchyard, and drank with him a pot of ale); he gave my father directions what to do about getting my brother an exhibition, and spoke very well of my brother. Thence back with my father home, where he and I spoke privately in the little room to my sister Pall about stealing of things as my wife's scissars and my mayde's book, at which my father was much trou-

morrow after their marriage, the bride and bridegroom perambulate the streets, followed by a numerous cortege, the guests at the wedding festival, two and two; each individual wearing two bits of narrow ribbon, about two inches in length, of different colours, which are pinned cross-ways upon the breast. These morsels of ribbons originally formed the garters of the bride and bridegroom, which had been divided amidst boisterous mirth among the assembled company, the moment the happy pair had been formally installed in the bridal bed. — *Ex. inf. Mr. William Hughes, Belvedere, Jersey.*

¹ Robert Blackbourne, then Secretary to the Admiralty, with a salary of 250*l.*

² See 4th Oct., 1660; 6th June, 1661; and 14th Sept., 1665.

³ Samuel Cromleholme, or Crumlum, Master of St. Paul's School.

bled. Hence home with my wife and so to Whitehall, where I met with Mr. Hunt and Luellin, and drank with them at Marsh's, and afterwards went up and wrote to my Lord by the post. This day the Parliament gave order that the late Committee of Safety should come before them this day se'nnight, and all their papers, and their model of Government that they had made, to be brought in with them.

25th. Called up early to Mr. Downing; he gave me a Character,¹ such a one as my Lord's, to make perfect, and likewise gave me his order for £500 to carry to Mr. Frost, which I did and so to my office, where I did do something about the character till twelve o'clock. Then home and found my wife and the mayde at my Lord's getting things ready against tomorrow. I went by water to my Uncle White's to dinner, where I met my father, where we alone had a fine poll of Ling to dinner. After dinner I took leave, and coming home heard that in Cheapside there had been but a little before a gibbet set up, and the picture of Huson² hung upon it in the middle of the street.

¹ *i. e.* cipher. See January 18th. (M. B.)

² A curious notice of Hewson occurs in Rugge's "Diurnal," 5th December, 1659, which states "that he was a cobbler by trade, but a very stout man, and a very good commander; but in regard of his former employment, they [the city apprentices] threw at him old shoes, and slippers, and turnip-tops, and brickbats, stones, and tiles." . . . "At this time [January, 1659-60] there came forth, almost every day, jeering books: one was called 'Colonel Hewson's Confession; or, a Parley with Pluto,' about his going into London, and taking down the gates of Temple-Bar." He had but one eye, which did not escape the notice of his enemies. He became a colonel in the Parliament army, and sat in judgment on the King. He escaped hanging by flight, and died in 1662 at Amsterdam.

I called at Paul's Churchyard, where I bought Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar ; and read a declaration of the gentlemen of Northampton which came out this afternoon. To Mr. Crew's about a picture to be sent into the country, of Mr. Thomas Crew, to my Lord. So to my Lady Wright to speak with her, but she was abroad, so Mr. Evans, her butler, had me in to his buttery, and gave me sack and a lesson on his lute, which he played very well. Hence I went to my Lord's and got most things ready against to-morrow, as fires and laying the cloth, and my wife was making of her tarts and larding of her pullets till eleven o'clock. This evening Mr. Downing sent for me, and gave me order to go to Mr. Jessop for his papers concerning his dispatch to Holland which were not ready, only his order for a ship to transport him he gave me. To my Lord's again and so home with my wife, tired with this day's work.

26th. To my office for £20 to carry to Mr. Downing, which I did and back again. Then came Mr. Frost to pay Mr. Downing his £500, and I went to him for the warrant and brought it Mr. Frost. Called for some papers at Whitehall for Mr. Downing, one of which was an Order of the Council for 1800*l.* per annum, to be paid monthly ; and the other two, Orders to the Commissioners of Customs, to let his goods pass free. Home from my office to my Lord's lodgings where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner — viz. a dish of marrow bones ; a leg of mutton ; a loin of veal ; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and two

dozen of larks all in a dish ; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies ; a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle Fener, his two sons, Mr. Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom.¹ We were as merry as I could frame myself to be in the company, W. Joyce talking after the old rate and drinking hard, vexed his father and mother and wife. And I did perceive that Mrs. Pierce her coming so gallant, that it put the two young women quite out of courage. When it became dark they all went away but Mr. Pierce, and W. Joyce, and their wives and Tom, and drank a bottle of wine afterwards, so that Will did heartily vex his father and mother by staying. At which I and my wife were much pleased. Then they all went and I fell to writing of two characters for Mr. Downing, and carried them to him at nine o'clock at night, and he did not like them but corrected them, so that to-morrow I am to do them anew. To my Lord's lodging again and sat by the great log, it being now a very good fire, with my wife, and ate a bit and so home. The news this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe. After dinner to-day my father showed me a letter from my Uncle Robert in answer to my last, concerning my money which I would have out of my Coz. Beck's hand, wherein Beck desires it four months longer, which I know not how to spare.

¹ Ob. 1663.

27th. Going to my office I met with Tom Newton, my old comrade, and took him to the Crowne in the Palace and gave him his morning draft. And as he always did, did talk very high what he would do with the Parliament, that he would have what place he would, and that he might be one of the Clerks to the Council if he would. Here I staid talking with him till the offices were all shut, and then I walked in the Hall, and was told by my bookseller, Mrs. Michell, that Mr. G. Montagu had inquired there for me. So I went to his house, and was forced by him to dine with him, and had a plenteous brave dinner and the greatest civility that ever I had from any man. Thence home and so to Mrs. Jem, and played with her at cards, and coming home again my wife told me that Mr. Hawley had been there to speak with me, and seemed angry that I had not been at the office that day, and she told me she was afraid that Mr. Downing may have a mind to pick some hole in my coat. So I made haste to him, but found no such thing from him, but he sent me to Mr. Sherwin's about getting Mr. Squib to come to him to-morrow, and I carried him an answer. So home and fell a writing the characters for Mr. Downing, and about nine at night Mr. Hawley came, and after he was gone I sat up till almost twelve writing, and wrote two of them. In the morning up early and wrote another, my wife lying in bed and reading to me.

28th. I went to Mr. Downing and carried him three characters, and then to my office and wrote an-

other, while Mr. Frost staid telling money. And after I had done it Mr. Hawley came into the office and I left him and carried it to Mr. Downing, who then told me that he was resolved to be gone for Holland this morning. So I to my office again, and dispatch my business there, and came with Mr. Hawley to Mr. Downing's lodging, and took Mr. Squib from White Hall in a coach thither with me, and there we waited in his chamber a great while, till he came in; and in the mean time, sent all his things to the barge that lay at Charing-Cross Stairs. Then came he in, and took a very civil leave of me, beyond my expectation, for I was afraid that he would have told me something of removing me from my office; but he did not, but that he would do me any service that lay in his power. So I went down and sent a porter to my house for my best fur cap, but he coming too late with it I did not present it to him. Thence I went to Westminster Hall, and bound up my cap at Mrs. Michell's, who was much taken with my cap, and endeavoured to overtake the coach at the Exchange and to give it him there, but I met with one that told me that he was gone, and so I returned and went to Heaven,¹ where Luellin and I dined on a breast of mutton all alone, discoursing of the changes that we have seen and the happiness of them that have estates of their own, and so parted, and I went by appointment to my office

¹ A place of entertainment in Old Palace-Yard, on the site of which the Committee-Rooms of the House of Commons now stand. It is called in Hudibras, "False Heaven, at the end of the Hall."

and paid young Mr. Walton 500*l.*; it being very dark he took 300*l.* by content. He gave me half a piece and carried me in his coach to St. Clement's, from whence I went to Mr. Crew's and made even with Mr. Andrews, and took in all my notes and gave him one for all. Then to my Lady Wright and gave her my Lord's letter which he bade me give her privately. So home and then to Will's for a little news, then came home again and wrote to my Lord, and so to Whitehall and gave them to the post-boy. Back again home and to bed.

29th. In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where he made an excellent sermon upon the 2d of the Galatians, about the difference that fell between St. Paul and St. Peter (the feast day of St. Paul being a day or two ago), whereby he did prove, that, contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, St. Paul did never own any dependance, or that he was inferior to St. Peter, but that they were equal, only one a particular charge of preaching to the Jews, and the other to the Gentiles. Casting up my accounts, I do find myself to be worth £40 and more, which I did not think, but am afraid that I have forgot something.

30th. This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song, "Great, good, and just," &c.¹ and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day,

¹ This is the beginning of Montrose's verses on the execution of Charles the First, which Pepys had probably set to music: —

"Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,

now ten years since, his Majesty died. Scull¹ the waterman came and brought me a note from the Hope from Mr. Hawley with direction, about his money, he tarrying there till his master be gone. To my office, where I received money of the excise of Mr. Ruddier, and after we had done went to Will's and staid there till 3 o'clock and then taking my £12 10s. 0d. due to me for my last quarter's salary, I went with them by water to London to the house where Sign^r Torriano used to be and staid there a while with Mr. Ashwell, Spicer and Ruddier. Then I went and paid £12 17s. 6d. due from me to Captⁿ Dick Matthews according to his direction the last week in a letter. After that I came back by water playing on my flageolet and not finding my wife come home again from her father's I went and sat awhile and played at cards with Mrs. Jem, whose mayde had newly got an ague and was ill thereupon. Thence home where I sat writing till bed-time and so to bed. There seems now to be a general cease of talk, it being taken for granted that Monk do resolve to stand to the Parliament, and nothing else. Spent a little time this night in knocking up nails for my hat and cloakes in my chamber.

I'd weep the world to such a strain
 That it should deluge once again.
 But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
 More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
 I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
 And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

¹ Query, whether from Scull the waterman is derived our word "sculls," well known to boating-men? (M. B.)

31st. In the morning I fell to my lute till 9 o'clock. Then to my Lord's lodgings and set out a barrel of soap to be carried to Mrs. Ann. Here I met with Nick Bartlet, one that had been a servant of my Lord's at sea and at Harper's gave him his morning draft. So to my office where I paid £1,200 to Mr. Frost and at noon went to Will's to give one of the Excise office a pot of ale that came to-day to tell over a bag of his that wanted £7 in it, which he found over in another bag. Then home and dined with my wife when in came Mr. Hawley newly come from shipboard from his master, and brought me a letter of direction what to do in his lawsuit with Squib about his house and office. After dinner to Westminster Hall, where all we clerks had orders to wait upon the Committee, at the Star Chamber that is to try Colonel Jones,¹ and were to give an account what money we had paid him ; but the Committee did not sit to-day. I bought the answer to General Monk's letter, which is a very good one, and I keep it by me. Thence to Mrs. Jem, where I found her mayde in bed in a fit of the ague, and Mrs. Jem among the people below at work and by and by she came up hot and merry, as if they had given her wine, at which I was troubled, but said nothing ; after a game at cards, I went home. Called in at Harper's and drank with Mr. Pulford, servant to Mr. Waterhouse,²

¹ Colonel John Jones, impeached, with General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, for treasonable practices in Ireland.

² Probably, Edward Waterhouse, an heraldic and miscellaneous writer, styled by Lloyd "as the learned, industrious, and ingenious E. W. of Sion College." His portrait was engraved by Loggan; he died in 1670.

who tells me, that whereas my Lord Fleetwood¹ should have answered to the Parliament to-day, he wrote a letter and desired a little more time, he being a great way out of town. And how that he is quite ashamed of himself, and confesses how he had deserved this, for his baseness to his brother. And that he is like to pay part of the money, paid out of the Exchequer during the Committee of Safety, out of his own purse again, which I am glad on. Home and to bed, leaving my wife reading in Polixandre. I could find nothing in Mr. Downing's letter, which Hawley brought me, concerning my office ; but I could discern that Hawley had a mind that I would get to be Clerk of the Council, I suppose that he might have the greater salary ; but I think it not safe yet to change this for a public employment.

February 1st. In the morning went to my office where afterwards the old man brought me my letters from the carrier. At noon I went home and dined with my wife on pease porridge and nothing else. After that I went to the Hall and there met with Mr. Swan and went with him to Mr. Downing's Counsellor, who did put me in very little hopes about the business between Mr. Downing and Squib, and told me that Squib would carry it against him, at which I was much

¹ Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland during the Usurpation, became Cromwell's son-in-law by his marriage with Ireton's widow, and a member of the Council of State. He seemed disposed to have espoused Charles the Second's interests; but had not resolution enough to execute his design. At the Restoration he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in obscurity, dying soon after the Revolution.

troubled, and with him went to Lincoln's Inn and there spoke with his attorney, who told me the day that was appointed for the trial. From thence to Mrs. Jem and spoke with Madam Scott and her husband who did promise to have the thing for her neck done this week. Thence home and took Gammer East, and James the porter, a soldier, to my Lord's lodgings, who told me how they were drawn into the field to-day, and that they were ordered to march away to-morrow to make room for General Monk; but they did shout their Colonel Fitch,¹ and the rest of the officers out of the field, and swore they would not go without their money, and if they would not give it them, they would go where they might have it, and that was the City. So the Colonel went to the Parliament, and commanded what money could be got, to be got against to-morrow for them, and all the rest of the soldiers in town, who in all places made a mutiny this day, and do agree together. Here I took some bedding to send to Mrs. Ann for her to lie in now she hath her fits of ague. Thence I went to Will's and staid like a fool there and played at cards till 9 o'clock and so came home, where I found Mr. Hunt and his wife who staid and sat with me till 10 and so good night.

2d. To my office, where I found all the officers of the regiments in town, waiting to receive money that their soldiers might go out of town, and what was in

¹ Thomas Fitch, colonel of a regiment of foot in 1658, M.P. for Inverness, also Lieutenant of the Tower.

the Exchequer they had. Harper, Luellin, and I went to the Temple to Mr. Calthrop's chamber, and from thence had his man by water to London Bridge to Mr. Calthrop, a grocer, and received £60 for my Lord. In our way we talked with our waterman, White, who told us how the watermen had lately been abused by some that had a desire to get in to be watermen to the State, and had lately presented an address of nine or ten thousand hands to stand by this Parliament, when it was only told them that it was to a petition against hackney coaches; and that to-day they had put out another to undeceive the world and to clear themselves, and that among the rest Cropp, my waterman and one of great practice, was one that did cheat them thus. After I had received the money we went to the Bridge Taverne and drank a quart of wine and so back by water landing Mr. Calthrop's man at the Temple and we went homewards, but over against Somerset House, hearing the noise of guns, we landed and found the Strand full of soldiers. So I took my money and went to Mrs. Johnson, my Lord's sempstress, and giving her my money to lay up, Doling and I went up stairs to a window, and looked out and saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money. By and by a drum was heard to beat a march coming towards them, and they got all ready again and faced them, and they proved to be of the same mind with them; and so they made a great deal of joy to see one another. After all this, I took my money, and

went home on foot and laid up my money, and changing my stockings and shoes, I having this day left off my great skirt suit, and put on my white suit with silver lace coat,¹ and went over to Harper's, where I met with W. Simons, Doling, Luellin and three merchants, one of which had occasion to use a porter, so they sent for one, and James the soldier came, who told us how they had been all day and night upon their guard at St. James's, and that through the whole town they did resolve to stand to what they had began, and that to-morrow he did believe they would go into the City, and be received there. After this we went to a sport called, selling of a horse for a dish of eggs and herrings, and sat talking there till almost twelve at night.

3rd. Drank my morning draft² at Harper's, and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon promise of pay. Thence to St. James's Park, back to Whitehall, where in the guard-chamber I saw about thirty or forty 'prentices³ of the City, who were taken at twelve o'clock last night and brought prisoners

¹ Pepys's father was a tailor, whence perhaps the importance he attaches throughout the Diary to dress; it is evidently more than vanity.

² " Though breakfast was the common indulgence of prosperous folk in Queen Elizabeth's time, it was not universally taken by all kinds of people. The 'morning draught' at the inn was, in fact, the ordinary breakfast of the majority of Englishmen at that time. Unless they bear this fact in mind, readers of old biographers are apt to attribute tavern-haunting propensities to sober and discreet gentlemen" (Pepys?), " who, though they always opened the day with drink and gossip at an ale-house, were no wastrels or ill-livers."—JEAFFRESON, *a Book about the Table*, vol. i. p. 219. (M. B.)

³ See Scott, "Fortunes of Nigel," at the end of chapter i. (M. B.)

hither. Thence to my office, where I paid a little more money to some of the soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Miller (who held out the Tower against the Parliament after it was taken away from Fitch by the Committee of Safety, and yet he continued in his office). About noon Mrs. Turner¹ came to speak with me and Joyce, and I took them and shewed them the manner of the Houses sitting, the door-keeper very civilly opening the door for us. Thence with my cozen Roger Pepys, it being term time, we took him out of the Hall to Prior's, the Rhenish wine-house, and there had a pint or two of wine and a dish of anchovies, and bespoke three or four dozen bottles of wine for him against his wedding. After this done he went away, and left me order to call and pay for all that Mrs. Turner would have. So we called for nothing more there, but went and bespoke a shoulder of mutton at Wilkinson's to be roasted as well as it could be done, and sent a bottle of wine home to my house. In the meantime she and I and Joyce went walking all over White Hall, whither General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight and stout officers. Thence to my house where we dined, but with a great deal of patience, for the mutton came in raw, and so we were fain to stay the stewing of it. In

¹ Jane, daughter of John Pepys, of South Creak, Norfolk, married to John Turner, Serjeant-at-Law; their only child, Theophila, frequently mentioned as The. or Theoph., became the wife of Sir Arthur Harris, Bart., of Stowford Devon, and died s. p.

the meantime we sat studying a Posy¹ for a ring for her which she is to have at Roger Pepys his wedding. After dinner I left them and went to hear news, but only found that the Parliament House was most of them with Monk at White Hall, and that in his passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome. I saw in the Palace Yard how unwilling some of the old soldiers were yet to go out of town without their money, and swore if they had it not in three days, as they were promised, they would do them more mischief in the country than if they had staid here; and that is very likely, the country being all discontented. The town and guards are already full of Monk's soldiers. I returned, and it growing dark I and they went to take a turn in the park, where Theoph. (who was sent for to us to dinner) outran my wife and another poor woman, that laid a pot of ale with me that she would outrun her. After that I set them as far as Charing Cross, and there left them and my wife, and I went to see Mrs. Ann, who began very high about a flock bed I sent her, but I took her down. Here I played at cards till 9 o'clock. So home and to bed.

4th. In the morning at my lute an hour, and so to

¹ Contracted from *poesy*. A motto on a ring, or on anything else.

“A paltry ring

That she did give me, whose *posy* was

For all the world like cutler's poetry

Upon a knife, ‘Love me and leave me not.’”

Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, act v. sc. 1. (M. B.)

my office, where I staid expecting to have Mr. Squib come to me, but he did not. At noon walking in the Hall I found Mr. Swan and got him and Captain Stone together, and there advised about Mr. Downing's business. So to Will's, and sat there till three o'clock and then to Mr. Swan's, where I found his wife in very genteel mourning for her father, and took him out by water to the Counsellor at the Temple, Mr. Stevens, and from thence to Gray's Inn, thinking to speak with Sotherton Ellis, but found him not, so we met with an acquaintance of his in the walks, and went and drank, where I ate some bread and butter, having ate nothing all day, while they were by chance discoursing of Marriot, the great eater, so that I was, I remember, ashamed to eat what I would have done. Here Swan shewed us a ballad to the tune of Mardike which was most incomparably wrote in a printed hand, which I borrowed of him, but the song proved but silly, so I did not write it out. Thence we went and I met with Spicer, Washington, and D. Vines in Lincoln's Inn Court, and they were buying of a hanging-jack to roast birds on of a fellow that was there selling of some. Thence to Sir Harry Wright's, and after that with a link-boy home and wrote letters into the country by the post, and then played a little on my lute, and so done, to supper and then to bed. All the news to-day is, that the Parliament this morning voted the House to be made up four hundred forthwith. My wife killed her turkeys that Mr. Shepley gave her, that came out of Zealand with my Lord, and could

not get her mayde Jane by no means at any time to kill anything.

5th (Lord's day). In the morning to Mr. Gunning, where a stranger, an old man, preached a good honest sermon upon "What love is this that we should be called the sons of God." After sermon I could not find my wife, who promised to be at the gate against my coming out, and waited there a great while; then I went to my father and found her there, and there I dined. To their church in the afternoon, and in Mrs. Turner's pew my wife took up a good black hood and kept it. A stranger preached a poor sermon, and so I read over the whole book of the story of Tobit. After sermon home with Mrs. Turner, staid with her a little while, then she went into the court to a christening and we to my father's, where I wrote some notes for my brother John to give to the Mercers to-morrow, it being the day of their apposition. After supper home, and before going to bed I staid writing of this day its passages, while a drum came by, beating of a strange manner of beat, now and then a single stroke, which my wife and I wondered at, what the meaning of it should be. This afternoon at church I saw Dick Cumberland¹ newly come out of the country from his living, but did not speak to him.

¹ Educated at St. Paul's School, and afterwards Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. In 1658 he got possession of the rectory of Brampton, in Northamptonshire, to which he was not legally instituted till 1661. He obtained the rectory of All Saints, Stamford, in 1668, and in 1691 was conse-

6th. To Westminster, where we found the soldiers all set in the Palace Yard, to make way for General Monk¹ to come to the House. I stood upon the steps and saw Monk go by, he making observance to the judges as he went along. At noon my father dined with me upon my turkey that was brought from Denmark, and after dinner he and I to the Bull Head Taverne, where we drank half a pint of wine and so parted. I to Mrs. Ann and Mrs. Jem being gone out of the chamber she and I had a very high bout, I rattled her up, she being in her bed, but she becoming more cool, we parted pretty good friends. Thence I went to Will's, where I staid at cards till 10 o'clock, losing half a crown, and so home to bed.

7th. In the morning I went early to give Mr. Hawley notice of my being forced to go into London, but he also having business, he and I walked as far as the Temple, where I halted a little and then went to Paul's School, but it being too soon I went and drank my morning draft with my cozen Tom Pepys the turner, and saw his house and shop, thence to school, where he that made the speech for the seventh form in praise

crated Bishop of Peterborough. He died at his palace 9th October, 1719. See Diary, 18th March, 1667, where Pepys writes: "The truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I should give £100 more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as, I fear, he is able to do."

¹ "Feb. 6th. General Monk being in his lodgings at Whitehall, had notice that the House had a desire to see him. He came into the Court of Wards, and being there, the Sergeant-at-Arms went to meet him with the mace, and his Lordship attended the Sergeant, who went before him with his mace on his shoulder, being accompanied with Mr. Scott and Mr. Robinson." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

of the founder,¹ did show a book which Mr. Crumlum² had lately got, which is believed to be of the Founder's own writing. After the speeches, in which my brother John came off as well as any of the rest, I went straight home and dined, then to the Hall, where in the Palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly and were to blame. So after drinking with Mr. Spicer, who had received £600 for me this morning, I met Mr. Squib, but he would do nothing till to-morrow morning. Thence back on foot home, where I found a letter from my Lord in character,³ which I construed, and went to Mr. Crew and advised with him about it, it being concerning my Lord's coming up to Town. Thence calling upon Mrs. Ann I went home, and wrote in character to my Lord in answer to his letter. This day Mr. Crew told me that my Lord St. John⁴ is for a free Parliament, and that he is very great with Monk, who hath now the absolute command and power to do any thing that he hath a mind to do. Boys do now cry "Kiss my Parliament," instead of "Kiss my rump," so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to among all the good and bad.

8th. A little practice on my flageolet, and after-

¹ John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, whose life has been written by Knight.

² See Jan. 24th, *ante*.

³ *i. e.* in cipher. (M. B.)

⁴ Oliver St. John, of Lamport, Northamptonshire, Solicitor-General in 1640, and afterwards Lord Chief-Justice of the Upper Bench.

wards walking in my yard to see my stock of pigeons, which begin now with the spring to breed very fast. I was called on by Mr. Fossan,¹ my fellow pupil at Cambridge, and I took him to the Swan in the Palace yard, and drank together our morning draft. Thence to my office, where I received money, and afterwards Mr. Carter, my old friend at Cambridge, meeting me as I was going out of my office I took him to the Swan, and in the way I met with Captain Lidcott, and so we three went together and drank there, the Captain talking as high as ever he did, and more because of the fall of his brother Thurlow.² Hence I went to Captain Stone, who told me how Squib had been with him, and that he could do nothing with him, so I returned to Carter and with him to Will's, where I spent upon him and Monsieur L'Impertinent, alias Mr. Butler, who I took thither with me, and thence to the Rhenish wine house, and in our way met with Mr. Hoole, where I paid for my cozen Roger Pepys his wine, and after drinking we parted. At home my wife's brother brought her a pretty black dog which I liked very well, and went away again. Hence sending a porter with the hamper of bottles to the Temple I called in my way upon Mrs. Jem, who was much frightened till I came to tell her that her mother was

¹ College Entry Book, Junij 27, 1651: — "Thomas flossan, filius Thomæ flossan, civis Londinensis, annum agens decimū Septimū e schola de St. Mary Axe apud Londinenses, admissus est Pensionarius, tutore Dno. Moreland." (M. B.)

² So spelt by Pepys, elsewhere Thurloe; he had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors. (M. B.)

well. So to the Temple and thence to my father's, where he shewed me a base and angry letter from my uncle about my brother John, at which my father was very sad, but I comforted him and wrote an answer. My brother John has an exhibition granted him from the school. My father and I went down to his kitchen, and there we eat and drank, and about 9 o'clock I went away homewards, and in Fleete Street, received a great jostle from a man that had a mind to take the wall, which I could not help. I came home and to bed. Went to bed with my head not well by my too much drinking to-day, and I had a boil under my chin which troubled me cruelly.

9th. Before I was out of my bed, I heard the soldiers very busy in the morning, getting their horses ready where they lay at Hilton's, but I knew not then their meaning in so doing. In the Hall I understand how Monk is this morning gone into London with his army; and Mr. Fage told me that he do believe that Monk is gone to secure some of the Common-council of the City, who were very high yesterday there, and did vote that they would not pay any taxes till the House was filled up. I went to my office, where I wrote to my Lord after I had been at the Upper Bench, where Sir Robert Pye¹ this morning came to

¹ Sir Robert Pye, the elder, was auditor of the Exchequer, and a staunch Royalist. He garrisoned his house at Faringdon, which was besieged by his son, of the same names, a decided republican, son-in-law to Hampden, and Colonel of Horse under Fairfax. The son here spoken of was subsequently committed to the Tower for presenting a petition to the House of Commons from the county of Berks, which he represented in Parliament, complaining

desire his discharge from the Tower ; but it could not be granted. After that I went to Mrs. Jem, who I had promised to go along with to her Aunt Wright's, but she was gone, so I went thither, and after drinking a glass of sack I went back to Westminster Hall, where meeting Swan I went with him by water to the Temple to our Counsel, and did give him a fee to make a motion to-morrow in the Exchequer for Mr. Downing. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I heard an action very finely pleaded between my Lord Dorset¹ and some other noble persons, his lady and other ladies of quality being there, and it was about 33*ol. per annum*, that was to be paid to a poor Spittal, which was given by some of his predecessors ;² and given on his side. Thence Swan and I to a drinking-house near Temple Bar, where while he wrote I played on my flageolet till a dish of poached eggs was got ready for us, which we eat, and so by coach home. I called at Mr. Harper's, who told me how Monk had this day clapt up many of the Common-council, and that the Parliament had voted that he should pull down their gates and portcullisses, their posts and their chains, which he do in-

of the want of a settled form of government. He had, however, the courage to move for an Habeas Corpus, but Judge Newdigate decided that the courts of law had not the power to discharge him. Upon Monk's coming to London, the secluded members passed a vote to liberate Pye, and at the Restoration he was appointed equerry to the King. He died in 1701.

¹ Richard, 5th Earl of Dorset, ob. 1677.

² This was the Sackville College for the poor, at East Grinstead, founded by Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset, who died in 1608. There is a good account of Sackville College in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1848.

tend to do, and do lie in the City all night. I went home and got some allum to my mouth, where I have the beginnings of a cancer, and had also a plaster to a boil underneath my chin.

10th. In the morning I went to Mr. Swan, who took me to the Court of Wards, where I saw the three Lords Commissioners sitting upon some cause where Mr. Scobell was concerned, and my Lord Fountaine ¹ took him up very roughly about some things that he said. After that we went to the Exchequer, where the Barons were hearing of causes, and there I made affidavit that Mr. Downing was gone into Holland by order of the Council of State, and this affidavit I gave to Mr. Stevens our lawyer. Thence to my office, where I got money of Mr. Hawley to pay the lawyer, and there found Mr. Lenard, one of the Clerks of the Council, and took him to the Swan and gave him his morning draft. Then home to dinner, and after that to the Exchequer, where I heard all the afternoon a great many causes before the Barons; in the end came ours, and Squib proved clearly by his patent that the house and office did now belong to him. Our lawyer made some kind of opposition, but to no purpose, and so the cause was found against us, and the foreman of the Jury brought in £10 damages, which the whole Court cried shame of, and so he cried 12*d*. Thence I went home, vexed about this business, and there found Mr. Moore, and with him went into Lon-

¹ Sir Thomas Widdrington and Sergeants Thomas Tyrrel and John Fountain had just been appointed Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

don to Mr. Fage about the cancer in my mouth, which begins to grow dangerous. He told me what Monk had done in the City, how he had pulled down the most part of the gates and chains that they could break down, and that he was now gone back to White Hall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the Common-council sit no more, but that new ones be chosen according to what qualifications they shall give them.

11th. This morning I lay long abed, and then to my office, where I read all the morning my Spanish book of Rome. At noon I walked in the Hall, where I heard the news of a letter from Monk, who was now gone into the City again, and did resolve to stand for the sudden filling up of the House, and it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the Speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read, Sir A. Haselrigge came out very angry, and Billing standing at the door, took him by the arm, and cried, "Thou man, will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall!" The House presently after rose, and appointed to meet again at three o'clock. I went then down into the Hall, where I met with Mr. Chetwind, who had not dined no more than myself, and so we went toward London, in our way calling at two or three shops, but could have no dinner. At last, within Temple Bar, we found a pullet ready roasted, and there we dined.

After that he went to his office, where I sat in his study singing, while he was with his man. Thence we took coach for the City to Guildhall, where the Hall was full of people expecting Monk and Lord Mayor to come thither, and all very joyfull. Met Monk coming out of the chamber where he had been with the Mayor¹ and Aldermen, but such a shout I never heard in all my life, crying out, "God bless your Excellence." Here I met with Mr. Lock, and took him to an ale-house, and left him there to fetch Chetwind; when we were come together, Lock² told us the substance of the letter that went from Monk to the Parliament; wherein, after complaints that he and his officers were put upon such offices against the City as they could not do with any content or honour, it states, that there are many members now in the House that were of the late tyrannical Committee of Safety. That Lambert and Vane³ are now in town, contrary to the vote of Parliament. That there were many in the House that do press for new oaths to be put upon men; whereas we have more cause to be sorry for the many oaths that we have already taken and broken. That the late petition of the fanaticque people presented by Barebone,⁴ for the imposing of an oath upon all

¹ Allen, afterwards Sir Thomas, married to Elizabeth Birch.

² Matthew Locke, the celebrated composer.

³ See Jan. 9, 1659-60.

⁴ Praise God Barebones, an active member of the Parliament called by his name. About this period he had appeared at the head of a band of fanatics, and alarmed Monk, who well knew his influence. He was a leather-seller in Fleet Street.

sorts of people, was received by the House with thanks. That therefore he ¹ do desire that all writs for filling up of the House be issued by Friday next, and that in the mean time, he would retire into the City and only leave them guards for the security of the House and Council. The occasion of this was the order that he had last night to go into the City and disarm them, and take away their charter; whereby he and his officers say that the House had a mind to put them upon things that should make them odious; and so it would be in their power to do what they would with them. He told us that the Parliament had sent Scott ² and Robinson to Monk this afternoon, but he would not hear them. And that the Mayor and Aldermen had offered their own houses for himself and his officers; and that his soldiers would lack for nothing. And indeed I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along in the streets cried, "God bless them!" and extraordinary good words. Hence we went to a merchant's house hard by, where I saw Sir Nich. Crisp, ³ and so we went to

¹ Monk.

² Thomas Scott, recently made Secretary of State, had signed the King's death-warrant, for which he was executed at Charing Cross, 16th October, 1660. He and Luke Robinson were both Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State, and selected, as firm adherents to the Rump, to watch Monk's proceedings: and never was a mission more signally unsuccessful. Scott, before his execution, desired to have it written on his tombstone, "Thomas Scott, who adjudged to death the late king."

³ An eminent merchant, and one of the farmers of the customs. He had advanced large sums to assist Charles I., who created him a baronet. He died February, 1667, aged 67, and was buried in the church of St. Mildred, Bread Street. For an account of him, and his magnificent house at Hammer-

the Star Tavern, (Monk being then at Benson's.) In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was every where to be seen ! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge¹ I could at one view tell thirty-one fires. In King-street seven or eight ; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand² rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side. Thence home and sent my letters to the post-house in London, and my wife and I went out again to show her the fires, and after walking as far as the Exchange we returned and to bed.

12th. In the morning, it being Lord's day, to White

smith, on the site of which Brandenburgh House was built, see Lysons's "Environs," and other local histories.

¹ Described in Maitland's History of London as a handsome bridge crossing the Strand, near the east end of Catherine Street, under which a small stream glided from the fields into the Thames, near Somerset House.

² Where stands the church of St. Mary-le-Strand.

Hall, where Dr. Hones¹ preached ; but I staid not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arth. Haselrigge was newly gone into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife² removed from White Hall last night. After dinner I heard that Monk had been at Paul's in the morning, and the people had shouted much at his coming out of the church. In the afternoon he was at a church in Broad-street, whereabout he do lodge. But not knowing how to see him we went and walked half a hour in Moorfields, which were full of people, it being so fine a day. Here I took leave of them, and so to Paul's, where I met with Mr. Kirton's³ apprentice (the crooked fellow) and waiked up and down with him two hours, sometimes in the streete looking for a taverne to drink in, but not finding any open, we durst not knock ; other times in the churchyard, where one told me that he had seen the letter printed. So to my father's, where Charles Glascocke was overjoyed to see how things are now ; who told me the boys had last night broke Barebone's windows.

¹ Nathaniel Holmes, D.D., of Exeter College, Oxford. He was the intruding incumbent of St. Mary Stayning, London, and ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and died in 1676. He was a very learned, but voluminous and fanciful writer. A list of his works is given in Wood's "*Athenæ*" (ed. Bliss), vol. iii. 1160. See also Kennett's "*Register*," p. 827.

² Anne Clarges, daughter of a blacksmith, and bred a milliner; mistress and afterwards wife of General Monk, over whom she exercised the greatest influence.

³ Joseph Kirton was a bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of "The King's Arms." His death, in October, 1667, is recorded in Smith's "*Obituary*," printed for the Camden Society.

13th. To my office till noon, then home. After dinner I took my wife to my father's, in my way I went to Playford's, and for two books that I had and 6s. 6*d.* to boot, I had my great book of songs which he sells always for 14*s.* At my father's I staid a while, while my mother sent her mayde Bess to Cheapside for some herbs to make a water for my mouth. Then I went to see Mr. Cumberland, and after a little stay with him I returned, and took my wife home, where after supper to bed. This day Monk was invited to White Hall to dinner by my Lords ; not seeming willing, he would not come. I went to Mr. Fage from my father's, who had been this afternoon with Monk, who do promise to live and die with the City, and for the honour of the City ; and indeed the City is very open-handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day, and have money given them.

14th. My wife, hearing Mr. Moore's voice in my dressing-chamber, got herself ready, and came down and challenged him for her valentine, this being the day. To Westminster Hall, there being many new remonstrances and declarations from many counties to Monk and the City, and one coming from the North from Sir Thomas Fairfax.¹ I heard that the Parliament had now changed the oath so much talked of to a promise ; and that among other qualifications

¹ Thomas Lord Fairfax, mentioned before. He had succeeded to the Scotch Barony of Fairfax, of Cameron, on the death of his father, in 1647; even after his accession to the title, he is frequently styled "Sir Thomas," in the pamphlets and papers of the day.

for the members that are to be chosen, one is, that no man, nor the son of any man that hath been in arms during the life of the father, shall be capable of being chosen to sit in Parliament. To Will's, where like a fool I staid and lost 6*d.* at cards. So home, and wrote a letter to my Lord by the post. So after supper to bed. This day, by an order of the House, Sir H. Vane¹ was sent out of town to his house in Lincolnshire.

15th. Called up in the morning by Captain Holland and Captain Cuttance. With them to Harper's, thence to my office, thence with Mr. Hill of Worcestershire to Will's, where I gave him a letter to Nan Pepys, and some merry pamphlets against the Rump to carry to her into the country. So to Mr. Crew's, where the dining room being full, Mr. Walgrave and I dined below in the buttery by ourselves upon a good dish of buttered salmon. So to Mrs. Jem and sat with her, who dined at Mr. Crew's to-day, and told me that there were at her coming away at least forty gentlemen (I suppose members that were secluded, for Mr. Walgrave told me that there were about thirty met there the last night) came dropping in one after another thither. No news to-day, but all quiet to see what the Parliament will do about the issuing of the writs to-morrow for the filling up of the House, according to Monk's desire.

16th. In the morning at my lute. Then came

¹ Sir H. Vane had married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby, Lincolnshire, Bart.

Shaw and Hawley, and I gave them their morning draft at my house. So to my office, where I wrote by the carrier to my Lord and sealed my letter at Will's, and gave it old East to carry it to the carrier's, and to take up a box of china oranges and two little barrels of scallops at my house, which Captain Cuttance sent to me for my Lord. Here I met with Osborne and with Shaw and Spicer, and we went to the Sun Taverne in expectation of a dinner, where we had sent us only two trencherfulls of meat, at which we were very merry, and here we staid till seven at night, I winning a quart of sack of Shaw that one trencherfull that was sent us was all lamb and he that it was veal. I by having but 3*d.* in my pocket made shift to spend no more, whereas if I had had more I had spent more as the rest did, so that I see it is an advantage to a man to carry little in his pocket. Home, and after supper, and a little at my flute, I went to bed.

17th. In the morning came Mr. Hills the instrument maker, and I consulted with him about the altering my lute and my viall. After him I went into my study and made up my accounts, and found that I am about 40*l.* beforehand in the world, and that is all. After dinner I went to Mr. Gunning's to his weekly fast, and after sermon, meeting there with Monsieur L'Impertinent, we went and walked in the park till it was dark. I played on my pipe at the Echo, and then drank a cup of ale at Jacob's. So to Westminster Hall, where I heard that some of the members of the House was gone to meet with some of the secluded members and

General Monk in the City. Hence to White Hall, thinking to hear more news, where I met with Mr. Hunt, who told me how Monk had sent for all his goods that he had here, into the City; and yet again he told me, that some of the members of the House had this day laid in firing into their lodgings at White Hall for a good while, so that we are at a great stand to think what will become of things, whether Monk will stand to the Parliament or no.

18th. A great while at my vial and voice, learning to sing "Fly boy, fly boy," without book. So to my office, where little to do. Home to dinner, and then went to my Lord's lodgings to my turret there and took away most of my books, and sent them home by my mayde. Then I to Mr. Wotton's, and with him to an ale-house and drank, while he told me a great many stories of comedies that he had formerly seen acted, and the names of the principal actors, and gave me a very good account of it. This day two soldiers¹ were hanged in the Strand for their late mutiny at Somerset-house.

19th (Lord's day). Early in the morning I set my books that I brought home yesterday up in order in my study. Thence forth to Mr. Harper's to drink a draft of Purle, whither by appointment Monsieur L'Impertinent, who did intend too upon my desire to

¹ "They were brought to the place of execution, which was at Charing Cross, and over against Somerset House in the Strand, where were two gibbets erected. These men were the grand actors in the mutinies at Gravesend, at Somerset House, and in St. James' Fields."—RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

go along with me to St. Bartholomew's, to hear one Mr. Sparkes, but it raining very hard we went to Mr. Gunning's and heard an excellent sermon, and speaking of the character that the Scripture gives of Ann the mother of the blessed Virgin, he did there speak largely in commendation of widowhood, and not as we do to marry two or three wives or husbands, one after another. Here I met with Mr. Moore, and went home with him to dinner, where he told me the discourse that happened between the secluded members and the members of the House, before Monk last Friday. How the secluded said, that they did not intend by coming in to express revenge upon these men, but only to meet and dissolve themselves, and only to issue writs for a free Parliament. He told me how Haselrigge¹ was afraid to have the candle carried before him, for fear that the people seeing him, would do him hurt; and that he is afraid to appear in the City. That there is great likelihood that the secluded members will come in, and so Mr. Crew and my Lord are likely to be great men, at which I was very glad. After dinner there was many secluded members come in to Mr. Crew, which, it being the Lord's day, did make Mr. Moore believe that there was something extraordinary in the business. Hence home and brought my wife to Mr. Mossum's² to hear him, and

¹ See January 13th, 1659-60, and note.

² This was in all probability Robert *Mossom*, author of several sermons preached in London, and printed about the time of the Restoration, who was in 1666 made Bishop of Derry. In the title-page of his "Apology in behalf

indeed he made a very good sermon, but only too eloquent for a pulpit. After sermon to my father's, and fell into discourse concerning our going to Cambridge the next week with my brother John. So home, and it raining my wife got my mother's French mantle and my brother John's hat, and so we went all along home and to bed.

20th. In the morning at my lute. Then to my office, where my partner and I made even our balance. Took him home to dinner with me, where my brother John came to dine. After dinner I took him into my study at home and at my Lord's, and gave him some books and other things against his going to Cambridge. After he was gone I went forth to Westminster Hall, where I met with Chetwind, Simons, and Gregory.¹ And with them to Marsh's at Whitehall to drink, and staid there a pretty while reading a pamphlet well writ and directed to General Monk, in praise of the form of monarchy which was settled here before the wars. They told me how the Speaker Lenthall do refuse to sign the writs for choice of new members in the place of the excluded; and by that means the writs could not go out to-day. In the evening Simons and I to the Coffee Clubb, where nothing to do only I heard Mr. Harrington, and my Lord of Dorset and another Lord, talking of getting another place as the Cockpit,

of the Sequestered Clergy," printed in 1660, he calls himself "Preacher of God's word at St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, London." See also Somers's "Tracts," vol. vii. p. 237, edit. 1748.

¹ Mr. Gregory was, in 1672, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.

and they did believe it would come to something. After a small debate upon the question whether learned or unlearned subjects are the best the Clubb broke up very poorly, and I do not think they will meet any more. Hence with Vines, &c. to Wills, and after a pot or two home, and so to bed.

21st. In the morning going out I saw many soldiers going towards Westminster, and I was told that they were going to admit the secluded members again. So I to Westminster Hall, and in Chancery Row I saw about twenty of them who had been at White Hall with General Monk,¹ who came thither this morning, and made a speech to them, and recommended to them a Commonwealth, and against Charles Stuart. They came to the House and went in one after another, and at last the Speaker came. But it is very strange that this could be carried so private, that the other members of the House heard nothing of all this, till they found them in the House, insomuch that the soldiers that stood there to let in the secluded members, they took for such as they had ordered to stand there to hinder their coming in. Mr. Prin² came with an old basket-hilt sword on, and had a great many great shouts upon his going into the Hall. They sat

¹ This remarkable speech is given at length by Rugge, who adds that about fourscore of the secluded members attended the first meeting of the House. It is highly probable that Monk had ascertained that they were ready to support him, before he committed himself to the Parliament.

² William Pryne, the lawyer, well known by his voluminous publications, and the persecution which he endured. He was M. P. for Bath, 1660, and died 1669.

till noon, and at their coming out Mr. Crew saw me, and bid me come to his house and dine with him, which I did; and he very joyful told me that the House had made General Monk, General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that upon Monk's desire, for the service that Lawson had lately done in pulling down the Committee of Safety, he had the command of the Sea for the time being. He advised me to send for my Lord forthwith, and told me that there is no question that, if he will, he may now be employed again; and that the House do intend to do nothing more than to issue writs, and to settle a foundation for a free Parliament. After dinner I back to Westminster Hall with him in his coach. Here I met with Mr. Lock and Pursell,¹ Masters of Musique, and with them to the Coffee House, into a room next the water, by ourselves, where we spent an hour or two till Captain Taylor came and told us, that the House had voted the gates of the City to be made up again, and the members of the City² that are in prison to be set at liberty; and that Sir G. Booth's³ case be brought into the House to-morrow. Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Lock had lately made on these words: "*Domine salvum fac Regem,*"

¹ Matthew Locke and Henry Purcell, both celebrated composers.

² Richard Brown, William Wilde, John Robinson, and William Vincent.

³ Sir George Booth, Bart., of Dunham Massey, then a prisoner in the Tower, from which he was released the next day. In 1661 he was created Baron Delamer for his services to the King.

an admirable thing. Here out of the window it was a most pleasant sight to see the City from one end to the other with a glory about it, so high was the light of the bonfires, and so thick round the City, and the bells rang everywhere. Hence home and wrote to my Lord, afterwards came down and found Mr. Hunt (troubled at this change) and Mr. Spong, who staid late with me singing of a song or two, and so parted. This morning I met in the Hall with Mr. Fuller, of Christ's, and told him of my design to go to Cambridge, and whither. He told me very freely the temper of Mr. Widdrington,¹ how he did oppose all the fellows in the College, and that there was a great distance between him and the rest, at which I was very sorry, for that he told me he feared it would be little to my brother's advantage to be his pupil.

22nd. In the morning intended to have gone to Mr. Crew's to borrow some money, but it raining I forebore, and went to my Lord's lodging and look that all things were well there. Then home and sang a song to my viall, so to my office and to Will's, where Mr. Pierce found me out, and told me that he would go with me to Cambridge, where Colonel Ayre's regiment, to which he was surgeon, lieth. Walking in the Hall, I saw Major General Brown,² who had a long time been

¹ Dr. Ralph Widdrington having been ejected from his fellowship by the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, October 28th, 1661, sued out a mandamus to be restored to it; and the matter being referred to commissioners — "The Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, and some of the judges" — he obtained restitution. — *KENNETT'S Register*, p. 552.

² Richard Brown, a Major-General of the Parliament forces, Governor

banished by the Rump, but now with his beard overgrown, he comes abroad and sat in the House. To my father's to dinner, where nothing but a small dish of powdered beef¹ and dish of carrots; they being all busy to get things ready for my brother John to go to-morrow. After dinner, my wife staying there, I went to Mr. Crew's, and got 5*l.* of Mr. Andrews, and so to Mrs. Jemimah, who now hath her instrument about her neck, and indeed is infinitely altered, and holds her head upright. I paid her mayde 40*s.* of the money that I have received of Mr. Andrews. Hence home to my study, where I only wrote thus much of this day's passages to this * and so out again. To White Hall, where I met with Will. Simons and Mr. Mabbot at Marsh's, who told me how the House had this day voted that the gates of the City should be set up at the cost of the State. And that Major-General Brown's being proclaimed a traitor be made void, and several other things of that nature. Home for my lanthorn and so to my father's, where I directed John what books to put for Cambridge. After that to supper, where my Uncle Fenner and Aunt, The. Turner, and Joyce, at a brave leg of veal roasted, and

of Abingdon, and Member for London in the Long Parliament; not John Evelyn's father-in-law of the same names. He had been imprisoned by the Rump Faction.

¹ *Powdered beef.* To *powder* is to salt; therefore powdered beef is "salted beef."

"*Falstaff.* Embowelled! if thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to *powder* me and eat me to-morrow." — SHAKESPEARE, *1 Henry IV.* Act v. sc. 4. (M. B.)

were very merry against John's going to Cambridge. I observed this day how abominably Barebone's windows are broke again last night.

23rd. Thursday, my birthday, now twenty-seven years. A pretty fair morning, and after writing awhile in my study I went forth. To my office, where I told Mr. Hawley of my thoughts to go out of town to-morrow. Hither Mr. Fuller comes to me and my Uncle Thomas too, thence I took them to drink, and so put off my uncle. So with Mr. Fuller home to my house, where he dined with me, and he told my wife a great many stories of his adversities, since these troubles, in being forced to travel in the Catholic countries, &c. He shewed me his bills, but I had not money to pay him. We parted, and I to Whitehall, where I was to see my horse which Mr. Garthwayt lends me to-morrow. So home, where Mr. Pierce comes to me about appointing time and place where and when to meet to-morrow. So to Westminster Hall, where, after the House rose, I met with Mr. Crew, who told me that my Lord was chosen by 73 voices, to be one of the Council of State. Mr. Pierpoint¹ had the most, 101, and himself the next, 100. He brought me in the coach home. I back to the Hall, and at Mrs. Michell's shop staid talking a great while with her and my Chaplain, Mr. Mumford, and drank a pot or two of ale on a wager that Mr. Prin is not of the Council. Home and wrote

¹ William Pierpont, M. P. of Thoresby, second son to Robert first Earl of Kingston, ob. 1679, aged 71.

to my Lord the news of the choice of the Council by the post, and so to bed.

24th. I rose very early, and taking horse at Scotland Yard, at Mr. Garthwayt's stable, I rode to Mr. Pierce's, who rose, and in a quarter of an hour, leaving his wife in bed (with whom Mr. Lucy methought was very free as she lay in bed), we both mounted, and so set forth about seven of the clock, the day and the way very foul. About Ware we overtook Mr. Blayton, brother-in-law to Dick Vines, and at Puckeridge we baited, where we had a loin of mutton fried, and were very merry, but the way exceeding bad from Ware thither. Then up again and as far as Foulmer, within six miles of Cambridge, my mare being almost tired: here we lay at the Chequer, playing at cards till supper, which was a breast of veal roasted. I lay with Mr. Pierce, who we left here the next morning upon his going to Hinchingbroke¹ to speak with my

¹ Hinchingbrooke House, so often mentioned in the Diary, stood about half a mile to the westward of the town of Huntingdon. It was erected late in the reign of Elizabeth, by Sir Henry Cromwell, on the site of a Benedictine nunnery, granted at the Dissolution, with all its appurtenances, to his father, Richard Williams, who had assumed the name of Cromwell, and whose grandson, Sir Oliver, was the uncle and godfather of the Protector. The knight, who was renowned for his hospitality, had the honour of entertaining King James at Hinchingbrooke, but, getting into pecuniary difficulties, was obliged to sell his estates, which were conveyed, 28th July, 1627, to Sir Sidney Montagu, of Barnwell, father of the first Earl of Sandwich, in whose descendant they are still vested. On the morning of the 22nd January, 1830, during the minority of the seventh Earl, Hinchingbrooke was almost entirely destroyed by fire, but the pictures and furniture were mostly saved, and the house has been rebuilt in the Elizabethan style, and the interior greatly improved, under the direction of Edward Blore, Esq., R.A.

Lord before his going to London, and we too came to Cambridge.

25th. By eight o'clock in the morning to the Faulcon,¹ in the Petty Cury,² where we found my father and brother very well. After dressing myself, about ten o'clock, my father, brother, and I to Mr. Widdrington,³ at Christ's College, who received us very civilly, and caused my brother to be admitted,⁴ while my father, he, and I, sat talking. After that done, we take leave. My father and brother went to visit some friends, Pepys's, scholars in Cambridge, while I went

¹ *The Faulcon.* The old Falcon Inn is on the south side of Petty Cury. It is now divided into three houses, one of which is the present Falcon Inn, the other two being houses with shops. The Falcon yard is but little changed. From the size of the whole building it must have been the principal inn of the town. The room said to have been used by Queen Elizabeth for receptions retains its original form. (M. B.)

² *The Petty Cury.* The derivation of the name of this street, so well known to all Cambridge men, is a matter of much dispute among antiquaries. (See *Notes and Queries.*) The most probable meaning of it is the *Parva Cokeria*, or *little cury*, where the cooks of the town lived, just as "The Poultry," where the Poulterers (now Poulterers) had their shops. "*The Forme of Cury*," a Roll of Antient English Cookery, was compiled by the principal cooks of that "best and royalest viander of all Christian Kings," Richard the Second, and edited with a copious Index and Glossary by Dr. Samuel Pegge, 1780. (M. B.)

³ Mr. Widdrington was afterwards Dr. Widdrington, Lady Margaret's Professor, and Public Orator. He seems to have taken an active part in University affairs, and is frequently mentioned in books of the time. (M. B.)

⁴ Extract from admission-book of Christ's College, Cambridge:

"Febr. 25^o. 1660.

"Johannes a Johanne Pepys Londini natus literas edoctus a Dno Crumleholtm Scholæ Paulinæ Moderatore annos natos 18 admissus est Sizator sub Mro. Widdrington.

"Hic cum prius admissus est in Collegium Magdalense Maii 26^{to}. ut ex literis testimonialibus constat ejusdem etiam anni apud nos habendus est." (M. B.)

to Magdalen College, to Mr. Hill,¹ with whom I found Mr. Zanchy, Burton² and Hollins, and was exceeding civilly received by them. I took leave on promise to sup with them, and to my Inn again, where I dined with some others that were there at an ordinary. After dinner my brother to the College, and my father and I to my Cozen Angier's, to see them, where Mr. Fairbrother to us. Here we sat awhile talking. My father he went to look after his things at the carrier's, and my brother's chamber, while Mr. Fairbrother,³ my Cozen Angier, and Mr. Zanchy,⁴ whom I met at Merton's shop (where I bought Elenchus Motuum, having given my former to Mr. Downing when he was here), to the Three Tuns, where we drank pretty hard and many healths to the King, &c., till it began to be darkish: then we broke up and I and Mr. Zanchy went to Magdalen College, where a very handsome supper at Mr.

¹ Joseph Hill, a native of Yorkshire, chosen in 1649 Fellow of Magdalene College, and in 1659 University Proctor; he afterwards retired to London, and, according to Calamy, was offered a bishopric by Charles II., which he declined, disliking the terms of conformity; and accepting a call to the English Church at Rotterdam in 1678, died there in 1707, aged 83. — *Nonconformists' Memorial*.

² Hezekiah Burton. His admission to a Wray Fellowship is curious:

“Mar. 8. 1650.

“Hezekias Burton in Artibus Baccalaureus hujus Collij, autoritate ordinationis Parliamentariæ, admissus est in sodalitiū M^{ri} Johannis David, eadem autoritate vacant.” The last word is not quite clear. (M.B.)

³ Mr. Fairbrother, afterwards Dr. Fairbrother, was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and taken prisoner at the battle of Naseby. (M. B.)

⁴ Clement Zanchy, admitted at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1648, and Foundation Fellow, 1654. At the College meetings he spelt his name “Zanchy,” at first, but in 1656 he changed it to “Sankey,” and it is sometimes spelt “Sanchy.” (M. B.)

Hill's chambers, I suppose upon a club among them, where I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr. Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time. After supper and some discourse then to my Inn, where I found my father in his chamber, and after some discourse, and he well satisfied with this day's work, we went to bed, my brother lying with me, his things not being come by the carrier that he could not lie in the College.

26th (Sunday). My brother went to the College to Chapel. My father and I went out in the morning, and walked out in the fields behind King's College, and in King's College Chapel Yard, where we met with Mr. Fairbrother, who took us to Botolph's Church, where we heard Mr. Nicholas, of Queen's College, who I knew in my time to be Tripos¹ with great applause, upon this text, "For thy commandments are broad." Thence my father and I to Mr. Widdrington's chamber to dinner, where he used us very courteously again, and had two Fellow Commoners with him at table, and Mr. Pepper, a Fellow

¹ The Tripos or Bachelor of the Stool, who made the speech on Ash Wednesday, when the senior Proctor called him up and exhorted him to be witty but modest withall. Their speeches, especially after the Restoration, tended to be boisterous, and even scurrilous. "26 Martii 1669. D^s Hollis, fellow of Clare Hall is to make a publick Recantation in the Bac. Schools for his Tripos speeche." The Tripos verses still come out, and are circulated on Ash Wednesday. I am told that this year (1875) one of the copies was more scurrilous than usual. (M. B.)

of the College. After dinner, while we sat talking by the fire, Mr. Pierce's man [came] to tell me that his master was come to town, so my father and I took leave, and found Mr. Pierce at our Inn, who told us that he had lost his journey, for my Lord was gone from Hinchinbroke to London on Thursday last, at which I was a little put to a stand. So after a cup of drink I went to Magdalen College to get the certificate of the College for my brother's entrance there, that he might save his year. I met with Mr. Burton in the Court, who took me to Mr. Pechell's chamber, where he was and Mr. Zanchy. By and by, Mr. Pechell and Sanchey and I went out, Pechell to Church, Sanchy and I to the Rose Taverne,¹ where we sat and drank till sermon done, and then Mr. Pechell came to us, and we three sat drinking the King's and his whole family's health till it began to be dark. Then we parted; Sanchy and I went to my lodging, where we found my father and Mr. Pierce at the door, and I took them both and Mr. Blayton to the Rose Taverne, and there gave them a quart or two of wine, not telling them that we had been there before. After this we broke up, and my father, Mr. Zanchy, and I to my Cosen Angier to supper, where I caused two bottles of wine to be carried from the Rose Taverne; that was drunk up, and I had not the wit to let them know at table that it was I that paid for them, and so I lost my thanks for them.

¹ The "Rose Tavern" opened on the Market Hill at the end of Rose Crescent. (M. B.)

After supper Mr. Fairbrother, who supped there with us, took me into a room by himself, and shewed me a pitiful copy of verses upon Mr. Prinn which he esteemed very good, and desired that I would get them given to Mr. Prinn, in hopes that he would get him some place for it, which I said I would do, but did laugh in my sleeve to think of his folly, though indeed a man that has always expressed great civility to me. After that we sat down and talked; I took leave of all my friends, and so to my Inn, where after I had wrote a note and enclosed the certificate to Mr. Widdrington, I bade good night to my father, and John went to bed, but I staid up a little while, playing the fool with the lass of the house at the door of the chamber, and so to bed.

27th. Up by four o'clock, and after I was ready, took my leave of my father, whom I left in bed, and the same of my brother John, to whom I gave 10s. Mr. Blayton and I took horse and straight to Saffron Walden, where at the White Hart, we set up our horses, and took the master of the house to shew us Audly End House,¹ who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper shewed us all the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole

¹ Then the residence of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk. It was built by Thomas, the first Earl, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and called after his maternal ancestor, Lord Chancellor Audley, to whom the monastery of Walden, the site of which is occupied by the present house, had been granted at the Dissolution.

was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here I played on my flageolette, there being an excellent echo. He shewed us excellent pictures ; two especially, those of the four Evangelists and Henry VIII. After that I gave the man 2*s.* for his trouble, and went back again. In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained ; a very old foundation ; and over the chimney-piece was an inscription in brass : “Orate pro animâ Thomæ Bird,” &c. ;¹ and the poor box also was on the same chimney-piece, with an iron door and locks to it, into which I put 6*d.* They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl, tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin and the child in her arms, done in silver. So we went to our Inn, and after eating of something, and kissed the daughter of the house, she being very pretty, we took leave, and so that night, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Eping, where we sat and played a game at cards, and after supper, and some merry talk with a plain bold mayde of the house, we went to bed.

28th. Up in the morning and had some red herrings to our breakfast, while my boot-heel was a-mending, by the same token the boy left the hole as big as it was before. Then to horse, and for London through

¹ Bryd in the original. The inscription and the bowl are still to be seen in the almshouse.

the forest, where we found the way good, but only in one path, which we kept as if we had rode through a kennel all the way. We found the shops all shut, and the militia of the red regiment in arms at the old Exchange, among whom I found and spoke to Nich. Osborne, who told me that it was a thanksgiving-day through the City for the return of the Parliament. At Paul's I light, Mr. Blayton holding my horse, where I found Dr. Reynolds¹ in the pulpit, and General Monk there, who was to have a great entertainment at Grocers' Hall. So home, where my wife and all well. Shifted myself,² and so to Mr. Crew's, and then to Sir Harry Wright's, where I found my Lord at dinner, who called for me in, and was glad to see me. I dined here with Will. Howe, and after dinner went out with him to buy a hat, which we did at the Plough in Fleete Streete by my Lord's direction, but not as for him. Here we met with Mr. Pierce a little before, and he took us to the Greyhound Taverne, and gave us a pint of wine, and as the rest of the seamen do, talked very high again of my Lord. After we had done about the hat we went homewards, I to Mrs. Jem, and sat with her a little. Then home, where I found Mr. Shepley, and afterwards Mr. Spong comes, with whom I went up and played with him a Duo or two, and so good night. I was indeed a little vexed

¹ Edward Reynolds, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He died 1676: his works are well known.

² A common expression, still used in Derbyshire for "changed my dress."
(M. B.)

with Mr. Shepley, but said nothing, about his breaking open of my study at my house, merely to give him the key of the stair door at my Lord's, which lock he might better have broke than mine.

29th. To my office, and drank at Wills with Mr. Moore, who told me how my Lord is chosen General at Sea by the Council, and that it is thought that Monk will be joined with him therein. Home and dined, after dinner my wife and I by water to London, and thence to Herring's, the merchant in Coleman Street, about £50 which he promises I shall have on Saturday next. So to my mother's, and then to Mrs. Turner's of whom I took leave, because she was to go out of town to-morrow with Mr. Pepys into Norfolk. Here my cosen Norton gave me a brave cup of metheglin, the first I ever drank. So home and to bed. This day my Lord came to the House, the first time since he came to town; but he had been at the Council before.

March 1st. In the morning went to my Lord's lodgings, and out of the box where my Lord's pamphlets lay, I chose as many as I had a mind to have for my own use and left the rest. Then to my office, where little to do, but Mr. Shepley comes to me, so at dinner time he and I went to Mr. Crew's, whither Mr. Thomas was newly come to town, being sent with Sir H. Yelverton,¹ my old school-fellow at Paul's School,

¹ Son of Sir Christopher Yelverton, the first Baronet, grandson of Sir Henry Yelverton, Judge C.P., author of the "Reports." He married Susan, Baroness Grey de Ruthyn, which title descended to his issue. His son was

to bring the thanks of the county to General Monk for the return of the Parliament. But old Mr. Crew and my Lord not coming home to dinner, we tarried late before we went to dinner, it being the day that John, Mr. John Crew's coachman, was to be buried in the afternoon, he being a day or two before killed with a blow of one of his horses that struck his skull into his brain. From thence Mr. Shepley and I went into London to Mr. Laxton's, my Lord's apothecary, and so by water to Westminster, where at the Sun he and I spent two or three hours in a pint or two of wine, discoursing of matters in the country, among other things telling me that my uncle did to him make a very kind mention of me, and what he would do for me. Thence I went home, and went to bed betimes. This day the Parliament did vote that they would not sit longer than the 15th day of this month.

2d. I went early to my Lord at Mr. Crew's where I spoke to him. Here were a great many come to see him, as Secretary Thurlow¹ who is now by the Parliament chosen again Secretary of State. There were also General Monk's trumpeters to give my Lord a sound of their trumpets this morning. Thence I

afterwards advanced to the dignity of Viscount Longueville, and his grandson to the Earldom of Sussex. The Yelverton collection of MSS. belongs to Lord Calthorpe, whose ancestor married a daughter of the first Viscount Longueville.

¹ John Thurloe, who had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors, but was never employed after the Restoration, though the King solicited his services. Ob. 1668.

Spelt Thurlow by Pepys. (M. B.)

went to my office, and wrote a letter to Mr. Downing about the business of his house. Then going home, I met with Mr. Eglin, Chetwind, and Thomas, who took me to the Leg in King's streete, where we had two brave dishes of meat, one of fish, a carp and some other fishes, as well done as ever I eat any. After that to the Swan taverne, where we drank a quart or two of wine, and so parted. After that to Westminster Hall, where I saw Sir G. Booth at liberty. This day I hear the City militia is put into good posture, and it is thought that Monk will not be able to do any great matter against them now, if he have a mind. I understand that my Lord Lambert did yesterday send a letter to the Council, and that to-night he is to come and appear to the Council in person. Sir Arthur Haselrigge do not yet appear in the House. Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard again.¹ For the last of which, my Lord St. John² is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prin, in open House, said, "In King Charles's."³

3d. To Westminster Hall, where I found that my

¹ Charles II., or George Monk, or Richard Cromwell. (M. B.)

² Oliver St. John; see Feb. 7, 1659-60, and note.

³ Compare a letter of Mr. Luttrell to Ormond, March 9th, 1660, in Carte's Letters, vol. ii. p. 312: "Yesterday there was a debate about the form of the dissolution, when Mr. Prynne asserted the King's right in such bold language that I think he may be styled the Cato of this age."—*Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2. (M. B.)

Lord was last night voted one of the Generals at Sea, and Monk the other. I met my Lord in the Hall, who bid me come to him at noon. Up to my office, but did nothing. At noon home to dinner to a sheep's head. After dinner I to Warwick House,¹ in Holborne, to my Lord, where he dined with my Lord of Manchester,² Sir Dudley North,³ my Lord Fiennes,⁴ and my Lord Barkly.⁵ I staid in the great hall, talking with some gentlemen there, till they all come out. Then I, by coach with my Lord, to Mr. Crew's, in our way talking of publick things. He told me he feared there was new design hatching, as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle. Here I left him, and

¹ Near Gray's Inn, where Warwick Court now stands.

² The Parliamentary General, afterwards particularly instrumental in the King's Restoration, became Chamberlain of the Household, K.G., a Privy Councillor, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He died in 1671, having been five times married.

³ Sir Dudley North, K.B., became the 4th Lord North on the death of his father in 1666. Ob. 1677.

⁴ John, third son of William, 1st Viscount Say and Sele, and one of Oliver's Lords.

⁵ There were at this time two Lord Berkeleys, each possessing a town-house called after his name, which misled Pennant and other biographers following in his track. George, thirteenth Lord Berkeley of Berkeley, advanced to an Earldom in 1679, the Peer here spoken of, lived at Berkeley House, in the parish of St. John's, Clerkenwell, which had been in his family for three generations, and he had a country-seat at Durdans, near Epsom, mentioned by Evelyn and Pepys. His death took place in 1698. The other nobleman, originally known as Sir John Berkeley, and in the service of Charles I., created in 1638 Baron Berkeley of Stratton, subsequently filled many high offices in the State, and was in 1670 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1674 went Ambassador to France, and died in 1678. He built a splendid mansion in Piccadilly, called also Berkeley House, upon the site of which Devonshire House now stands. To prevent confusion, the words [of Stratton] will be added wherever his name occurs in these pages.

went by appointment to Herring, the merchant, but missed of my money, at which I was much troubled, but could not help myself. Returning, met with Mr. Gifford who took me and gave me half a pint of wine, and told me, as I hear from many, that things are in a very doubtful posture, some of the Parliament being willing to keep the power in their hands. After I had left him, I met with Tom Harper, who took me into a place in Drury Lane, where we drank a great deal of strong water, more than ever I did in my life at one time before. He talked huge high that my Lord Protector would come in place again, which indeed is much discoursed of again, though I do not see it possible. Hence home and wrote to my father at Brampton by the post. So to bed. This day I was told that my Lord General Fleetwood told my Lord that he feared the King of Sweden is dead of a fever at Gottenburg.

4th (Lord's day). Before I went to church I sang Orpheus' Hymn to my viall. After that to Mr. Gunning's, an excellent sermon upon charity. Then to my mother to dinner, where my wife and the mayde were come. After that we three to Mr. Messum's where we met Mons. L'Impertinent, who got us a seat and told me a ridiculous story how that last week he had caused a simple citizen to spend £80 in entertainments of him and some friends of his upon pretence of some service that he would do him in his suit after a widow. Then to my mother again, and after supper she and I talked very high about religion,

I in defence of the religion I was born in. Then home.

5th. Early in the morning Mr. Hill comes to string my theorbo, which we were about till past ten o'clock, with a great deal of pleasure. Then to Westminster, where I met with Mr. Shepley and Mr. Pinkney¹ at Will's, who took me by water to Billingsgate, at the Salutation Taverne, whither by-and-by, Mr. Talbot and Adams came, and bring a great deal of good meat, a ham of bacon, &c. Here we staid and drank. Then we parted, and so to Westminster by water, only seeing Mr. Pinkney at his own house, where he shewed me how he had alway kept the Lion and Unicorne, in the back of his chimney, bright, in expectation of the King's coming again. At home I found Mr. Hunt, who told me how the Parliament had voted that the Covenant be printed and hung in churches again. Great hopes of the King's coming again. To bed.

6th (Shrove Tuesday). I called Mr. Shepley and we both went up to my Lord's lodgings at Mr. Crew's, where he bid us to go home again, and get a fire against an hour after. Which we did at White Hall, whither he came, and after talking with him and me about his going to sea, he called me by myself into the garden, where he asked me how things were with me; he bid me look out now at this turn some good place, and he would use all his own, and all the interest of his friends that he had in England, to do me

¹ Probably Leonard Pinkney, who was Clerk of the Kitchen at the ensuing Coronation Feast.

good. And asked me whether I could, without too much inconvenience, go to sea as his secretary, and bid me think of it. He also began to talk of things of State, and told me that he should want one in that capacity at sea, that he might trust in, and therefore he would have me to go. He told me also, that he did believe the King would come in, and did discourse with me about it, and about the affection of the people and City, at which I was full glad. To my office, where Mr. Hawley brought one to me, a seaman, that had promised £10 to him if he get him a purser's place, which I think to endeavour to do. Here comes my uncle Tom, whom I took to Will's and drank with, poor man, he comes to inquire about the knights of Windsor, of which he desires to get to be one. While we were drinking, in comes Mr. Day, a carpenter in Westminster, to tell me that it was Shrove Tuesday, and that I must go with him to their yearly Clubb upon this day, which I confess I had quite forgot. So I went to the Bell, where were Mr. Eglin, Veezy, Vincent a butcher, one more, and Mr. Tanner, with whom I played upon a viall, and he a viallin, after dinner, and were very merry, with a special good dinner, a leg of veal and bacon, two capons and sausages and fritters, with abundance of wine. After that I went to see Mrs. Jem, at whose chamber door I found a couple of ladies, but she not being there, we hunted her out, and found that she and another had hid themselves behind a door. Well, they all went down into the dining-room, where it was full of tag, rag,

and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had staid a dance or two I went away. Going home, called at my Lord's for Mr. Shepley, but found him at the Lion with a pewterer, that he had bought pewter to-day of. With them I drank, and so home and wrote by the post, by my Lord's command, for I. Goods to come up presently. For my Lord intends to go forthwith into the Swiftsure till the Nazeby be ready. This day I hear that the Lords do intend to sit, and great store of them are now in town, and I see in the Hall to-day. Overton¹ at Hull do stand out, but can, it is thought, do nothing; and Lawson, it is said, is gone with some ships thither, but all that is nothing. My Lord told me, that there was great endeavours to bring in the Protector again; but he told me, too, that he did believe it would not last long if he were brought in; no, nor the King neither (though he seems to think that he will come in), unless he carry himself very soberly and well. Every body now drink the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it. Monk this day is feasted at Mercers' Hall, and is invited one after another to all the twelve Halls in London. Many think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it. My mind, I must needs remember, has been very much

¹ The Parliamentary General.

eased and joyed at my Lord's great expressions of kindness this day.

7th (Ash Wednesday). Washington told me upon my question whether he knew of any place now void that I might have, by power over friends, that this day Mr. G. Montagu¹ was to be Custos Rotulorum for Westminster, and that by friends I might get to be named by him Clerk of the Peace, with which I was, as I am at all new things, very much joyed, so when I came to Mr. Crew's, I spoke to my Lord about it, who told me he believed Mr. Montagu had already promised it, and that it was given him only that he might gratify one person with the place I look for. Here, among many that were here, I met with Mr. Lynes, the surgeon, who promised me some seeds of the sensitive plant. Thence going homeward, my Lord overtook me in his coach, and called me in, and so I went with him to St. James's, and G. Montagu being gone to White Hall, we walked over the Park thither, all the way he discoursing of the times, and of the change of things since the last year, and wondering how he could bear with so great disappointment as he did. He did give me the best advice that he could what was best for me, whether to stay or go with him, and offered all the ways that could be, how he might do me good, with the greatest liberty and love that could be. I left him at Whitehall, and myself went to Westminster to my office, where nothing to do.

¹ George Montagu, afterwards M. P. for Dover, second son of Edward, second Earl of Manchester, and father of the first Earl of Halifax.

Thence by appointment to the Angel in King Street, where Chetwind, Mr. Thomas and Doling were at oysters, and beginning Lent this day with a fish dinner. After dinner Mr. Thomas and I by water to London, where I went to Herring's and received the £50 of my Lord's upon Frank's bill from Worcester. Thence I went to the Pope's Head Alley and called on Adam Chard, and bought a catcall there, it cost me two groats. Thence went and gave him a cup of ale. After that to the Sun behind the Exchange, where meeting my uncle Wight by the way, took him thither, and after drinking a health or two at the Cock, we parted, I homewards, where I found my father newly come from Brampton. He left my uncle with his leg very dangerous, and do believe he cannot continue in that condition long. He tells me that my uncle did acquaint him very largely what he did intend to do with his estate, to make me his heir and give my brother Tom something, and that my father and mother should have likewise something, to raise portions for John and Pall. I pray God he may be as good as his word. This news and my Lord's great kindness makes me very cheerful within. I pray God make me thankful. This day, according to order, Sir Arthur¹ appeared at the House; what was done I know not, but there was all the Rumpers almost come to the House to-day. My Lord did seem to wonder much why Lambert was so willing to be put into the

¹ Haselrigge.

Tower, and thinks he has some design in it ; but I think that he is so poor that he cannot use his liberty for debts, if he were at liberty ; and so it is as good and better for him to be there, than any where else.

8th. To Westminster Hall, where there was a general damp over men's minds and faces upon some of the Officers of the Army being about making a remonstrance against Charles Stuart or any single person ; but at noon it was told, that the General had put a stop to it, so all was well again. Here I met with Jasper who was to look for me to bring me to my Lord at the lobby ; whither sending a note to my Lord, he comes out to me and gives me direction to look after getting some money for him from the Admiralty, seeing that things are so unsafe, that he would not lay out a farthing for the State, till he had received some money of theirs. Home about two o'clock, and took my wife by land to Paternoster Row, to buy some Paragon for a petticoat and so home again. I to the Admiralty, where I got the order for the money, and have taken care for the getting of it assigned upon Mr. Hutchinson, Treasurer for the Navy, against to-morrow. This afternoon, some of the Officers of the Army, and some of the Parliament, had a conference at White Hall to make all right again, but I know not what is done. This noon I met at the Dog taverne ¹ Captain Philip Holland, with whom I advised how to make

¹ A house still existing in Holywell Street in the Strand bears this name, but from mention elsewhere, the Dog Tavern here recorded must have been in Westminster.

some advantage of my Lord's going to sea, which he told me might be by having of five or six servants entered on board, and I to give them what wages I pleased, and so their pay to be mine ; he was also very urgent to have me take the Secretary's place, that my Lord did proffer me. At the same time in comes Mr. Wade and Mr. Sterry, secretary to the plenipotentiary in Denmark, who brought the news of the death of the King of Sweden ¹ at Gottenburgh the 3rd of the last month, and he told me what a great change he found when he came here, the secluded members being restored. He also spoke very freely of Mr. Wade's profit, which he made while he was in Zeeland, how he did believe that he cheated Mr. Powell, and that he made above £500 on the voyage, which Mr. Wade did very angrily deny, though I believe he was guilty enough.

9th. To my Lord at his lodging, and came to Westminster with him in the coach, with Mr. Dudley with him, and he in the Painted Chamber walked a good while ; and I telling him that I was willing and ready to go with him to sea, he agreed that I should, and advised me what to write to Mr. Downing about it, which I did at my office, that by my Lord's desire I offered that my place might for a while be supplied by Mr. Moore, and that I and my security should be bound by the same bond for him. In the afternoon by coach, taking Mr. Butler with me to the Navy

¹ Charles Gustavus.

Office, about the £500 for my Lord, which I am promised to have to-morrow morning. After this Mr. Butler and I to Harper's, where we sat and drank for two hours till ten at night. Home and to bed. All night troubled in my thoughts how to order my business upon this great change with me that I could not sleep, and being overheated with drink I made a promise the next morning to drink no strong drink this week, for I find that it puts me quite out of order. This day it was resolved that the writs do go out in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty, and I hear that it is resolved privately that a treaty be offered with the King. And that Monk did check his soldiers highly for what they did yesterday.

10th. In the morning went to my father's, whom I took in his cutting house,¹ and there I told him my resolution to go to sea with my Lord, and consulted with him how to dispose of my wife, and we resolved of letting her be at Mr. Bowyer's.² Thence to the Treasurer of the Navy, where I received £500 for my Lord. Then by coach home, where I took occasion to tell my wife of my going to sea, who was much troubled at it, and was with some dispute at last willing to continue at Mr. Bowyer's in my absence. Then to Whitehall and set many of my things in order against my going. My wife was late making of caps for me, and the wench making of a pair of stockings that she was knitting of. So to bed.

¹ He was a tailor.

² Mr. Bowyer had probably re-married Mrs. Pepys's mother.

11th (Sunday). All the day busy without my band, putting up my books and things, in order to my going to sea. At night my wife and I went to my father's to supper, and after supper home, where the wench had provided all things against to-morrow to wash, and so to bed.

12th. This day the wench rose at two in the morning to wash, and my wife and I lay talking a great while. My wife and I to the Exchange, where we bought a great many things, where I left her and went into London. To the White Horse in King Streete, where I got Mr. Buddle's horse to ride to Huntsmore¹ to Mr. Bowyer's, where I found him and all well, and willing to have my wife come and board with them while I was at sea. Here I lay and took a thing for my cold, namely a spoonful of honey and a nutmeg scraped into it, by Mr. Bowyer's direction, and so took it into my mouth, which I found did do me much good.

13th. At my Lord's lodgings, who told me that I was to be secretary, and Creed to be deputy treasurer to the Fleet, at which I was troubled, but I could not help it. This day the Parliament voted all that had been done by the former Rump against the House of Lords be void, and to-night that the writs go out without any qualification. Things seem very doubtful what will be the end of all; for the Parliament seems to be strong for the King, while the soldiers do all talk against.

¹ See 8th May following.

14th. To my Lord, where infinity of applications to him and to me. To my great trouble, my Lord gives me all the papers that was given to him, to put in order and to give him an account of them. Here I got half-a-piece of a person of Mr. Wright's recommending to my Lord to be Preacher of the Speaker frigate. I went hence to St. James's and Mr. Pierce the surgeon with me, to speake with Mr. Clerke,¹ Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntingdon to Oundle, which my Lord told me he did to do a courtesy to the town, that he might have the greater interest in them, in the choice of the next Parliament; not that he intends to be chosen himself, but that he might have Mr. G. Montagu and my Lord Mandevill² chose there in spite of the Bernards.³ This done (where I saw General Monk and methought he seemed a dull heavy man), Pierce and I to Whitehall, where with Luellin we dined at Marsh's. Coming home telling my wife what we had to dinner, she had a mind to some cabbage, and I sent for some and she had it. Went to the Admiralty, where a strange thing how I am already courted by the people. This morning I hired

¹ Clement Clerke, of Lawnde Abbey, co. Leicester, created a Baronet in 1661.

² Eldest son of the Earl of Manchester.

³ Robert Bernard, created a Baronet in 1662, served in Parliament for Huntingdon, before and after the Restoration, and died in 1666. His son and successor, Sir John Bernard, the second baronet, at the time of his death, in 1669, was one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Huntingdon. The inscription upon his monument in Brampton Church is given in the "Topographer and Genealogist," vol. i. p. 113. Sir Nicholas Pedley, who was also burges for Huntingdon, married a daughter of Sir Robert Bernard.

a boy and Burr to be my clerk. This night I went to Mr. Creed's chamber where he gave me the former book of the proceedings in the fleete and the Seale. By coach, it raining hard, to Mrs. Jem, where I staid a while, and so home, and late in the night put up my things in a sea-chest that Mr. Shepley lent me, and so to bed.

15th. Early packing up my things to be sent by cart with the rest of my Lord's. So to Wills, where I took leave of some of my friends. Here I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him these sixteen years. So in the Hall paid and made even with Mrs. Michell; afterwards met with old Beale, and at the Axe paid him this quarter to Ladyday next. So into London by water, and in Fish Street my wife and I bought a bit of salmon for 8*d.* and went to the Sun Taverne and eat it, where I did promise to give her all that I have in the world but my books, in case I should die at sea. From thence homewards; in the way my wife bought linen for three smocks and other things. So home. Then to the Fox in King-streete to supper on a brave turkey of Mr. Hawley's, with some friends of his. After supper I went to Westminster Hall, and the Parliament sat till ten at night, thinking and being expected to dissolve themselves to-day, but they did not. Great talk to-night that the discontented officers did think this night to make a stir, but prevented.

16th. No sooner out of bed but troubled with abundance of clients, seamen. Then to Mr. Shepley,

to the Rhenish Taverne House, where Mr. Pim, the tailor, was, and gave us a morning draft and a neat's tongue. Home and with my wife to London, we dined at my father's. In my way home I went to the Chapel in Chancery Lane to bespeak papers of all sorts and other things belonging to writing against my voyage. Then to Westminster Hall, where I heard how the Parliament had this day dissolved themselves, and did pass very cheerfully through the Hall, and the Speaker without his mace. The whole Hall was joyfull thereat, as well as themselves, and now they begin to talk loud of the King. To-night I am told, that yesterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, one came with a ladder to the Great Exchange,¹ and wiped with a brush the inscription that was on King Charles, and that there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and people called out "God bless King Charles the Second!"² From the Hall I went home to bed, very sad in mind to part with my wife, but God's will be done.

17th. This morning bade adieu in bed to the company of my wife. We rose and I gave my wife

¹ So called during the Commonwealth, in lieu of Royal.

² "Then the writing in golden letters, that was engraven under the statue of Charles I., in the Royal Exchange (*Exit tyrannus, Regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ, anno Domini 1648, Januaria xxx.*) was washed out by a painter, who in the day time raised a ladder, and with a pot and brush washed the writing quite out, threw down his pot and brush, and said it should never do him any more service, in regard that it had the honour to put out rebels' handwriting. He then came down, took away his ladder, not a mis-word said to him, and by whose order it was done was not then known. The merchants were glad and joyful, many people were gathered together, and against the Exchange made a bonfire." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

some money to serve her for a time, and what papers of consequence I had. I went to my Lord's and had much business with him, and papers, great store, given me by my Lord to dispose of as the rest. After that, with Mr. Moore home to my house and took my wife by coach to the Chequer in Holborne, where, after we had drank, &c., she took coach and so farewell. Thence with Mr. Hawley to dinner at Mr. Crew's. After dinner to my own house, where all things were put into the dining-room and locked up, and my wife took the keys along with her. This day, in the presence of Mr. Moore (who made it) and Mr. Hawley, I did before I went out with my wife, seal my will to her, whereby I did give her all that I have in the world, but my books which I give to my brother John, excepting only French books, which my wife is to have. In the evening at the Admiralty, I met my Lord there and got a commission for Williamson to be captain of the Harp frigate. I went home with Crispe to his mother's house by me in Axe Yard, and sat there talking and hearing of old Mrs. Crispe playing of her old lessons upon the harpsicord. After that to bed, and Laud, her son, lay with me in the best chamber in her house, which indeed was finely furnished.

18th. I rose early and went to the barber's (Jervas) in Palace Yard and was trimmed by him, and afterwards drank with him a cup or two of ale, and did begin to hire his man to go with me to sea. Then to my Lord's lodging where I found Captain Williamson

and gave him his commission to be Captain of the Harp, and he gave me a piece of gold and 20s. in silver. Thence to Mr. Mossum's, where he made a very gallant sermon upon "Pray for the life of the King and the King's son." (Ezra vi. 10.) Met with Mr. Woodfine, who took me to an alehouse in Drury Lane, and we sat and drank together, and eat toasted cakes which were very good, and we had a great deal of mirth with the mistress of the house about them. From thence homewards, and called at Mr. Blaggrave's, where I took up my note that he had of mine for 40s., which he two years ago did give me as a pawn while he had my lute. So to Mrs. Crispe, where she and her daughter and son and I sat talking till ten o'clock at night, I giving them the best advice that I could concerning their son, how he should go to sea, and so to bed.

19th. Early to my Lord, where infinity of business to do, which makes my head full; and indeed, for these two or three days, I have not been without a great many cares. After that to the Admiralty, where a good while with Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was much to be feared that the King would come in, for all good men and good things were now discouraged. Thence to Wilkinson's, where Mr. Shepley and I dined; and while we were at dinner, my Lord Monk's lifeguard came by with the Serjeant at Armes before them, with two Proclamations, that all Cavaliers do depart the town; but the other that all officers that were lately disbanded should do the same. The

last of which Mr. R. Creed,¹ I remember, said, that he looked upon it as if they had said, that all God's people should depart the town. Thence with some sea officers to the Swan, where we drank till one comes to me to pay me some money, viz., £25. So home, and left my money there. All the discourse now-a-day is, that the King will come again; and for all I see, it is the wishes of all; and all do believe that it will be so. My mind is still much troubled for my poor wife, but I hope that this undertaking will be worth my pains. This day my Lord dined at my Lord Mayor's (Allen), and Jaspar was made drunk, which my Lord was very angry at.

20th. This morning I rose early and went to my house to put things in a little order against my going, which I conceive will be to-morrow. After that to my Lord, where I found very great deal of business, he giving me all letters and papers that come to him about business, for me to give him account of when we come on shipboard. So to the Bull Head, whither W. Simmons and I gave him and others my foy²

¹ Major Richard Creed, who commanded a troop under Lambert when that general surrendered to Ingoldsby: see 24 April following. He was imprisoned with the rest of the officers, but his name does not recur in the Diary, nor is it known whether he was related to John Creed, so frequently mentioned hereafter.

² *Foy*. A feast given by one who is about to leave a place. In Kent, according to Grose, a treat to friends, either at going abroad or coming home. See *Diary*, 25th November, 1661: "To Westminster with Captain Lambert, and there he did at the Dog give me and some other friends of his, his *foy*, he being to set sail to-day towards the Streights." There is an inn at Ramsgate still called the *Foy Boat*. (M. B.)

against my going to sea ; and so we took leave one of another, they promising to write to me to sea. Hither comes Pim's boy, by my direction, with two monteeres¹ for me to take my choice of, and I chose the saddest colour and left the other for Mr. Shepley. Thence by coach to London, and took a short melancholy leave of my father and mother, without having them to drink, or say anything of business one to another. Then to Westminster, where by reason of rain and an easterly wind, the water was so high that there was boats rowed in King Street and all our yard was drowned, that one could not go to my house,² so as no man has seen the like almost, most houses full of water.³ Then back by coach to my Lord's, and staid waiting for my Lord's coming in till very late. Then Shepley, I, and William Howe went with our

¹ *Monteeres*, *montero* (Spanish), a kind of huntsman's cap.

"His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish *montero*." — BACON.

Sterne introduces the *montero* cap into his "Tristram Shandy." It occurs in a curious description of two worthies in the *Currant Intelligence*, March 6-9, 1682: "Samuel Smith, Scrivener in Grace Church Street, London, about 26 years old, crook backed, of short stature, red hair, hath a black periwig, and sometimes a light one, pale complexion, pock-holed full face, a *mountier* cap with a scarlet ribbon and one of the same colour on his cravat and sword, a light coloured campaign coat faced with blue shag, in company with his brother John Smith, who has a slit in his nose, a tall lusty man, red hair, a sad grey campaign coat, a lead colour suit lined with red, they were mounted, one on a flea-bitten grey, the other on a light bay horse." (M. B.)

² In Axe Yard, King Street, Westminster.

³ "In this month the wind was very high, and caused great tides, so that great hurt was done to the inhabitants of Westminster, King Street being quite drowned. The Maidenhead boat was cast away, and twelve persons with her. Also, about Dover the waters brake in upon the mainland; and in Kent was very much damage done; so that report said, there was 20,000*l.* worth of harm done." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

swords to bring my Lord home from Sir H. Wright's. He resolved to go to-morrow if the wind ceased. I home by coach to Mrs. Crispe, who had sat over a good supper long looking for me. So we sat talking and laughing till it was very late, and so Laud and I to bed.

21st. To my Lord's, but the wind very high against us, and the weather bad we could not go to-day; here I did very much business, and then to my Lord Widdrington's from my Lord, with his desire that he might have the disposal of the writs of the Cinque Ports. My Lord was very civil to me, and called for wine, and writ a long letter in answer. Thence to Crispe's, where we were very merry; the old woman sent for a supper for me, and gave me a handkercher with strawberry buttons on it, and so to bed.

22nd. Up very early and took leave of Mrs. Crispe and her daughter (who was in bed). Then to my Lord's lodging, but the weather continuing very bad my Lord would not go to-day. After that I went forth about my own business to buy a pair of riding grey serge stockings and sword and belt and hose, and after that took Wotton and Brigden to the Pope's Head Taverne in Chancery Lane, where Gilb. Holland and Shelston were, and we dined and drank a great deal of wine, and they paid all. Strange how these people do now promise me everything; one a rapier, the other a vessel of wine or a gun, and one offered me his silver hatband to do him a courtesy. I pray God to keep me from being proud or too much lifted

up hereby. After that to Westminster, and received my warrant of Mr. Blackburne, to be Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet. Then to take my leave of the Clerks of the Council. This day Mr. Shepley went away on board and I sent my boy with him. This day also Mrs. Jemim: went to Marrowbone, so I could not see her.

23rd. Up early, carried my Lord's will in a black box to Mr. William Montagu¹ for him to keep for him. Then to the barber's and put on my cravat. So to my Lord again. Hither came Gilb. Holland, and brought me a stick rapier and Shelston a sugar-loaf. Young Reeve also brought me a little perspective glass which I bought for my Lord, it cost me 8s. My Lord, Captain Isham,² Mr. Thomas, John Crew, W. Howe, and I to the Tower, where the barges staid for us; my Lord and the Captain in one, and W. Howe and I, &c., in the other, to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure³ lay at anchor; (in our way we saw the great breach which the late high water had made, to the loss of many £1000 to the people about Limehouse.) Soon as my Lord on board, the guns went off bravely from the ships. And a little while after comes the Vice-Admiral Lawson, and seemed very respectful to my Lord, and so did the rest of the Commanders of the

¹ William, second son of the first Lord Montagu of Boughton, and first cousin to Sir Edward Montagu. He was afterwards Lord Chief Baron. Ob. 1707, æt. 89.

² Sir Sidney Montagu, the father of "my Lord," had married for his second wife one of the Isham family, of Lamport.

³ Commanded by Captain, after Sir Richard Stayner.

frigates that were thereabouts. I to the cabin allotted for me, which was the best that any had that belonged to my Lord. I got out some things out of my chest for writing and to work presently, Mr. Burr and I both. I supped at the deck table with Mr. Shepley. We were late writing of orders for the getting of ships ready, &c. ; and also making of others to all the sea-ports between Hastings and Yarmouth, to stop all dangerous persons that are going or coming between Flanders and there. After that to bed in my cabin, which was but short ; however I made shift with it and slept very well, and the weather being good I was not sick at all yet, I know not what I shall be.

24th. At work hard all the day writing letters to the Council, &c. This day Mr. Creed¹ came on board and dined very boldly with my Lord. The boy Eliezer flung down a can of beer upon my papers which made me give him a box of the ear, it having all spoiled my papers and cost me a great deal of work. So to bed.

25th. About two o'clock in the morning, letters came from London by our Coxon, so they waked me, but I would not rise but bid him stay till morning, which he did, and then I rose and carried them in to my Lord, who read them a-bed. Among the rest, there was the writ and mandate for him to dispose to the Cinque Ports for choice of Parliament-men. There was also one for me from Mr. Blackburne, who with

¹ John Creed, who, having been a puritan, had been averse to the King's coming in.

his own hand superscribes it to S. P. Esq.,¹ of which God knows I was not a little proud. After that I wrote a letter to the Clerk of Dover Castle, to come to my Lord about issuing of those writs. About ten o'clock Mr. Ibbott,² at the end of the long table, begun to pray and preach and indeed made a very good sermon, upon the duty of all Christians to be stedfast in faith. After that Captain Cuttance and I had oysters, my Lord being in his cabin not intending to stir out to-day. After that up into the great cabin above to dinner with the Captain, where was Captain Isham and all the officers of the ship. I took place of all but the Captain; after dinner I wrote a great many letters to my friends at London. After that, sermon again, at which I slept, God forgive me!

26th. This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's³ in Salisbury Court. And did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me. But now it pleases God that I am where I am and so prevented to do it openly; only within my soul I can and do rejoice, and bless God, being at this time, blessed be his holy name, in as good health as ever I

¹ Pepys was not a little proud of being addressed as S. P., Esquire. In fifty years afterwards (as we find from Steele's pleasant paper in the "Tatler," No. 19), we were become *populus armigerorum*: every pretender admitted into the fraternity. Who is now excluded? This entry, and Pepys's pride, in 1666, in having a spare bed, are among those minute details which render the "Diary" so valuable as a history of manners.

² Edmund Ibbott, S.T.B., in 1662 made rector of Deal. Ob. 1677.

³ Mrs. Turner was the sister of Edward Pepys.

was in my life. This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole Fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns. About an hour after that, we had a meeting of the principal commanders and seamen, to proportion out the number of these things. All the afternoon very many orders were made, till I was very weary. At night Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came and brought some bottles of wine and some things to eat in my cabin, where we were very merry, remembering the day of being cut for the stone. Captain Cuttance came afterwards and sat drinking a bottle of wine till eleven, a kindness he do not usually do the greatest officer in the ship. After that to bed.

27th. Early in the morning at making a fair new establishment of the Fleet to send to the Council. This morning, the wind came about, and we fell into the Hope, and in our passing by the Vice-Admiral, he and the rest of the frigates with him, did give us abundance of guns and we them, so much that the report of them broke all the windows in my cabin and broke off the iron bar that was upon it to keep anybody from creeping in at the Scuttle. This noon I sat the first time with my Lord at table since my coming to sea. All the afternoon exceeding busy in writing of letters and orders. In the afternoon, Sir Harry Wright¹ came on board us, about his business

¹ M. P. for Harwich. He married Anne, drughter of Lord Crewe, and sister to Lady Sandwich, and resided at Dagenham, Essex; he was created a Baronet by Cromwell, 1658, and by Charles II., 1660.

of being chosen a Parliament-man. My Lord brought him to see my cabin, when I was hard a-writing. At night supped with my Lord too, with the Captain.

28th. This morning and the whole day busy. At night there was a gentleman very well bred, his name was Banes, going for Flushing, who spoke French and Latin very well, brought by direction from Captain Clerke hither, as a prisoner, because he called out of the vessel that he went in, "Where is your King, we have done our business, Vive le Roi." He confessed himself a Cavalier in his heart, and that he and his whole family had fought for the King; but that he was then drunk, having been all night taking his leave at Gravesend the night before, and so could not remember what it was that he said; but in his words and carriage showed much of a gentleman. My Lord had a great kindness for him, but did not think it safe to release him, but commanded him to be used civilly, so he was taken to the Master's Cabin and had supper there. In the meantime I wrote a letter to the Council about him, and an order for the vessel to be sent for back that he was taken out of. But a while after, he sent a letter down to my Lord, which my Lord did like very well, and did advise with me what was best to be done. So I put in something to my Lord and then to the Captain that the gentleman was to be released and the letter stopped, which was done. So I went up and sat and talked with him in Latin and French, and drank a bottle or two with him; and about eleven at night he took boat again, and so God

bless him. Thence I to my cabin and to bed. This day we had news of the election at Huntingdon for Bernard and Pedley,¹ at which my Lord was much troubled for his friends' missing of it.

29th. We lie still a little below Gravesend. At night Mr. Shepley returned from London, and told us of several elections for the next Parliament. That the King's effigies was new making to be set up in the Exchange again. This evening was a great whispering that some of the Vice-Admiral's captains were dissatisfied, and did intend to fight themselves, to oppose the General. But it was soon hushed, and the Vice-Admiral did wholly deny any such thing, and protested to stand by the General.

30th. I was saluted in the morning with two letters, from some that I had done a favour to, which brought me in each a piece of gold. This day, while my Lord and we were at dinner, the Nazeby came in sight towards us, and at last came to anchor close by us. After dinner my Lord and many others went on board her, where every thing was out of order, and a new chimney made for my Lord in his bed-chamber, which he was much pleased with. My Lord, in his discourse, discovered a great deal of love to this ship.²

31st. This morning Captain Jowles of the Wexford

¹ John Bernard and Nicholas Pedley, re-elected in the next Parliament. Nicholas Pedley had been a Commissioner of the Wine Office.

Sir Edward Montagu had set up Lord Mandeville, the Earl of Manchester's eldest son, and Mr. G. Montagu. (M. B.)

² Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the "Naseby" when he went to the Sound.

came on board, for whom I got commission from my Lord to be commander of the ship. Upon the doing thereof he was to make the 20s. piece that he sent me yesterday, up £5; wherefore he sent me a bill that he did owe me £4. I sent my boy to Gravesend with him, and he did give the boy £4 for me, and the boy gave him the bill under his hand. This morning, Mr. Hill that lives in Axe-yard was here. I did give him a bottle of wine, and was exceedingly satisfied of the power that I have to make my friends welcome. Many orders to make all the afternoon.

April 1st (Lord's day). Mr. Ibbott¹ preached very well. After dinner my Lord did give me a private list of all the ships that were to be set out this summer, wherein I do discern that he hath made it his care to put by as much of the Anabaptists as he can. By reason of my Lord and my being busy to send away the packet by Mr. Cooke of the Nazeby, it was four o'clock before we could begin sermon again. This day Captain Guy come on board from Dunkirk, who tells me that the King will come in, and that the soldiers at Dunkirk do drink the King's health in the streets. I made a commission for Captain Wilgness, of the Bear, to-night, which got me 30s.

2d. Up very early, and to get all my things and my boy's packed up. Great concourse of commanders here this morning to take leave of my Lord upon his going into the Nazeby, so that the table was full, so

¹ Minister of Deal, 1676. — PEPYS'S *MS. Letters*.

there dined below many commanders, and Mr. Creed, who was much troubled to hear that he could not go along with my Lord. After dinner I went in one of the boats with my boy before my Lord, and made shift before night to get my cabin in pretty good order. It is but little, but very convenient, having one window to the sea and another to the deck, and a good bed. This morning comes Mr. Ed. Pickering,¹ like a coxcomb as he always was. He tells me that the King will come in, but that Monk did resolve to have the doing of it himself, or else to hinder it.

3d. There come many merchants to get convoy to the Baltique, which a course was taken for. They dined with my Lord, and one of them by name Alderman Wood talked much to my Lord of the hopes that we have now to be settled, (under the King he meant) ; but my Lord took no notice of it. This day came the Lieutenant of the Swiftsure (who was

¹ Younger brother of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart., born 1618, and bred to the law; and in 1681 a resident in Lincoln's Inn. He married Dorothy, one of the daughters of Sir John Weld, of Arnolds, in Edmonton, Middlesex, and died in 1698, s. p. s.: his widow survived till December, 1707. Roger North ("Life of Lord Keeper Guildford," 1742, p. 58) has drawn a very unfavourable picture of Edward Pickering, calling him a subtle fellow, a money-hunter, a great trifier, and avaricious, but withal a great pretender to puritanism, frequenting the Rolls' Chapel, and most busily writing the sermon in his hat, *that he might not be seen*. We learn from the same authority that Sir John Cutts, of Childerley, having left his aunt, Mrs. Edward Pickering, an estate worth 300*l.* per annum, for ninety-nine years, *if she should so long live*, her husband, who was the executor, erased from the will the words of reference to her life, with intention to possess himself of the property for the term, absolutely, which fraud being suspected, the question was tried in a court of law, and the jury without hesitation found Pickering the author of the erasure, before the publication of the will.

sent by my Lord to Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports, to have got Mr. Edward Montagu to have been one of their burgesses, but could not, for they were all promised before). After he had done his message, I took him and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon (who this day came on board, and not before), to my cabin, where we drank a bottle of wine. At night, busy a-writing, and so to bed. My heart exceeding heavy for not hearing of my dear wife, and indeed I do not remember that ever my heart was so apprehensive of her absence as at this very time.

4th. This morning came Colonel Thomson with the wooden leg, and General Pen, and dined with my Lord and Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was certain now that the King must of necessity come in, and that one of the Council told him there is something doing in order to a treaty already among them. And it was strange to hear how Mr. Blackburne did already begin to commend him for a sober man, and how quiet he would be under his government, &c. The Commissioners came to-day, only to consult about a further reducement of the Fleet, and to pay them as fast as they can. I did give Davis, their servant, £5 10s. to give to Mr. Moore from me, in part of the £7 that I borrowed from him, and he is to discount the rest out of the 36s. that he do owe me. At night, my Lord resolved to send the Captain of our ship to Weymouth and promote his being chosen there, which he did put himself into a readiness to do the next morning.

5th. Infinity of business all the morning of orders to make, that I was very much perplexed that Mr. Burr had failed me of coming back last night, and we ready to set sail, which we did about noon, and came in the evening to Lee roads and anchored. This afternoon Creed brought me £30, which my Lord ordered him to pay me upon account, and Captain Clerke brought me a noted caudle. At night very sleepy to bed.

6th. This morning came my brother-in-law Balty to see me, and to desire to be here with me as Reformado,¹ which did much trouble me. But after dinner (my Lord using him very civilly, at table) I spoke to my Lord, and he presented me a letter to Captain Stokes for him that he should be there. All the day with him walking and talking, we under sail as far as the Spitts. In the afternoon, W. Howe and I to our viallins, the first time since we came on board. In the evening, it being fine, I staid late walking with Mr. Cuttance upon the quarter-deck, learning of some sea terms ; and so to supper and to bed.

7th. This day, about nine o'clock in the morning, the wind grew high, and we being among the sands lay at anchor ; I began to be dizzy and squeamish. Before dinner my Lord sent for me down to eat some

¹ *Reformado*, "a broken or disbanded officer." Boyer translates "*Officier réformé*, a *reformado*." See *Diary*, Oct. 1st, 1660: "Mr. Mansell, a poor *reformado* of the Charles." See Ben Jonson's *Epicene*: "His knights Reformadoes a wound up as high and insolent as ever they were." See also *Every Man in his Humour*, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

oysters, the best my Lord said that he ever ate in his life, though I have eat as good at Bardsey. After dinner, and all the afternoon I walked upon the deck to keep myself from being sick, and at last about five o'clock, went to bed and got a caudle made me, and sleep upon it very well.

8th (Lord's day). Very calm again, and I pretty well, but my head aaked all day. About noon set sail; in our way I see many barks and masts, which are now the greatest goods for ships. We had a brave wind all the afternoon, and overtook two good merchantmen that overtook us yesterday, going to the East Indies. The lieutenant and I lay out of his window with his glass, looking at the women that were on board them, being pretty handsome. This evening Major Willoughby, who had been here three or four days on board with Mr. Pickering, went on board a catch¹ for Dunkirke.

9th. We having sailed all night, were come in sight of the Nore and South Forelands in the morning, and so sailed all day. In the afternoon we had a very fresh gale, which I brooked better than I thought I should be able to do. This afternoon I first saw France and Calais, with which I was much pleased, though it was at a distance. About five o'clock we came to the Goodwin, so to the Castles² about Deale, where our Fleet lay, among whom we anchored. Great was the shout of guns from the castles and ships, and

¹ *Catch* or *ketch*, a swift kind of vessel. (M. B.)

² The castles were Walmer, Sandgate, Sandwich, Deal, and Dover.

our answers, that I never heard yet so great rattling of guns. Nor could we see one another on board for the smoke that was among us, nor one ship from another. Soon as we came to anchor, the captains came from on board their ships all to us on board. This afternoon I wrote letters for my Lord to the Council, &c., which Mr. Pickering was to carry, who took leave to go away to-morrow, and Balty. I lent Balty 15s. which he was to pay to my wife. It was one in the morning before we parted. This evening Mr. Shepley came on board, having escaped a very great danger upon a sand coming from Chatham.

10th. This morning many or most of the commanders in the Fleet came on board and dined here, so that some of them and I dined together in the round-house, where we were very merry. Hither came the Vice-Admiral to us, and sat and talked and seemed a very good-natured man. At night as I was all alone in my cabin, in a melancholy fit playing on my viallin, my Lord and Sir R. Stayner came into the coach¹ and supped there, and called me out to supper with them. This day my Lord Goring² returned from France, and landed at Dover.

11th. A Gentleman came this morning from my

¹ *The Council Chamber*, frequently mentioned. See 3rd May: "The council sat in the *coach*." (M. B.)

² Charles, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Norwich. He had been banished eleven years before by the Parliament for heading an army, and keeping the town of Colchester for the use of the King. At his first coming he went to the Council of State, and had leave to remain in London, provided he did not disturb the peace of the nation. — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

Lord of Manchester to my Lord for a pass for Mr. Boyle,¹ which was made him. The wind all this day was very high. This afternoon came a great packet of letters from London directed to me, among the rest two from my wife, the first that I have since coming away from London. All the news from London is that things go on further towards a King. That the Skinners' Company the other day at their entertaining of General Monk² had took down the Parliament Arms in their Hall, and set up the King's. In the evening my Lord and I had a great deal of discourse about the several Captains of the Fleet and his interest among them, and had his mind clear to bring in the King. He confessed to me that he was not sure of his own Captain [Cuttance] to be true to him, and that he did not like Captain Stokes. At night W. Howe and I at our viallins in my cabin, where Mr. Ibbott and the lieutenant were late. I staid the lieutenant late, shewing him my manner of keeping a journal. After that to bed. It comes now into my mind to observe that I am sensible that I have been a little too free to make mirth with the minister of our ship, he being a very sober and upright man.

12th. This day, the weather being very bad, we had no strangers on board.

¹ The celebrated Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork.

² His excellency had now dined at nine of the chief Halls; at every Hall there was after dinner a kind of stage-play, and many pretty conceits, and dancing and singing, and many shapes and ghosts, and the like, and all to please Lord Monk. — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

13th. This day very foul for rain and wind. In the afternoon set my own things in my cabin and chests in better order than hitherto, and set my papers in order. At night sent another packet to London by the post, and after that was done I went up to the lieutenant's cabin and there we broached a vessel of ale that we had sent for among us from Deale to-day. There was the minister and doctor with us. After that till one o'clock in the morning writing letters to Mr. Downing about my business of continuing my office to myself, only Mr. Moore to execute it for me. I had also a very serious and effectual letter from my Lord to him to that purpose. After that done then to bed, and it being very rainy, and the rain coming upon my bed, I went and lay with John Goods in the great cabin below, the wind being so high that we were fain to lower some of the masts. I to bed, and what with the goodness of the bed and the rocking of the ship I slept till almost ten o'clock, and then —

14th. Rose and drank a good morning draft there with Mr. Shepley, which occasioned my thinking upon the happy life that I live now, had I nothing to care for but myself. The sea was this morning very high, and looking out of the window I saw our boat come with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, in it in great danger, who endeavouring to come on board us, had like to have been drowned had it not been for a rope. This day I was informed that my Lord Lambert is got out of the Tower, and that there is 100*l.* proffered to who-

ever shall bring him forth to the Council of State.¹ My Lord is chosen at Waymouth this morning; my Lord had his freedom brought him by Captain Tiddiman of the port of Dover, by which he is capable of being elected for them. This day I heard that the Army had in general declared to stand by what the next Parliament shall do.

15th (Lord's day). Up early and was trimmed by the barber in the great cabin below. After that to put my clothes on and then to sermon, and then to dinner, where my Lord told us that the University of Cambridge had a mind to choose him for their burgess, which he pleased himself with, to think that they do look upon him as a thriving man, and said so openly at table. At dinner-time Mr. Cooke came back from London with a packet which caused my Lord to be full of thoughts all day, and at night he bid me pri-

¹ The manner of the escape of John Lambert, out of the Tower, on the 11th inst., as related by Ruge: — That about eight of the clock at night he escaped by a rope tied fast to his window, by which he slid down, and in each hand he had a handkerchief; and six men were ready to receive him, who had a barge to hasten him away. She who made the bed, being privy to his escape, that night, to blind the warder when he came to lock the chamber-door, went to bed, and possessed Colonel Lambert's place, and put on his night-cap. So, when the said warder came to lock the door, according to his usual manner, he found the curtains drawn, and conceiving it to be Colonel John Lambert, he said, "Good night, my Lord." To which a seeming voice replied, and prevented all further jealousies. The next morning, on coming to unlock the door, and espying her face, he cried out, "In the name of God, Joan, what makes you here? Where is my Lord Lambert?" She said, "He is gone; but I cannot tell whither." Whereupon he caused her to rise and carried her before the officer in the Tower, and [she] was committed to custody. Some said that a lady knit for him a garter of silk, by which he was conveyed down, and that she received 100*l.* for her pains.

vately to get two commissions ready, one for Capt. Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Capt. Dekings, an anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings. The other for Capt. Coppin to come out of that into the Newbury in the room of Blake, whereby I perceive that General Monk do resolve to make a thorough change, to make way for the King. From London I hear that since Lambert got out of the Tower, the Fanatiques had held up their heads high, but I hope all that will come to nothing.

16th. All the morning giving out orders and tickets to the Commanders of the Fleet to discharge all supernumeraries that they had above the number that the Council had set in their last establishment. After dinner busy all the afternoon writing, and so till night, then to bed.

17th. All the morning getting ready commissions for the Vice-Admiral¹ and the R. Admiral,² wherein my Lord was very careful to express the utmost of his own power, commanding them to obey what orders they should receive from the Parliament, &c., or both or either of the Generals.³ The Vice-Admiral dined with

¹ Sir John Lawson.

² Sir Richard Stayner, knighted and made a Vice-Admiral by Cromwell, 1657, and after the Restoration sent to command at Tangier till the Governor arrived.

³ Sir Edward Montagu afterwards recommended the Duke of York as High Admiral, to give regular and lawful commissions to the Commanders of the Fleet, instead of those which they had received from Sir Edward himself, or from the Rump Parliament. — KENNETT'S *Register*, p. 163.

us, and in the afternoon my Lord called me to give him the commission for him, which I did, and he gave it him himself. A very pleasant afternoon, and I upon the deck all the day, it was so clear that my Lord's glass shewed us Calais very plain, and the cliffs were as plain to be seen as Kent, and my Lord at first made me believe that it was Kent. At night, after supper, my Lord called for the Rear-Admiral's commission which I brought him, and I sitting in my study heard my Lord discourse with him concerning D. King's and Newberry's being put out of commission. And by the way I did observe that my Lord did speak more openly his mind to me afterwards at night than I can find that he did to the Rear-Admiral, though his great confidant. For I was with him an hour together, when he told me clearly his thoughts that the King would carry it, and that he did think himself very happy that he was now at sea, as well for his own sake, as that he thought he might do his country some service in keeping things quiet.

18th. Mr. Cooke returned from London, bringing me this news, that the Sectaries do talk high what they will do, but I believe all to no purpose, that the Cavaliers are something unwise to talk so high on the other side as they do. That the Lords do meet every day at my Lord of Manchester's, and resolve to sit the first day of the Parliament. That it is evident now that the General and the Council do resolve to make way for the King's coming. And it is now clear that either the Fanatiques must now be undone, or the

gentry and citizens throughout England, and clergy must fall, in spite of their militia and army, which is not at all possible I think. This morning very early Mr. Edward Montagu came on board, making no stay at all. This day Sir R. Stayner, Mr. Shepley, and as many of my Lord's people as could be spared went to Dover to get things ready against to-morrow for the election there.

19th. At dinner news brought us that my Lord was chosen at Dover. This afternoon came one Mansell on board as a Reformado,¹ to whom my Lord did shew exceeding great respect, but upon what account I do not yet know. This day it has rained much, so that when I came to go to bed I found it wet through, so I was fain to wrap myself up in a dry sheet, and so lay all night.

20th. All the morning I was busy to get my window altered, and to have my table set as I would have it, which after it was done I was infinitely pleased with it, and also to see what a command I have to have every one ready to come and go at my command. This evening came Mr. Boyle on board, for whom I writ an order for a ship to transport him to Flushing. He supped with my Lord, my Lord using him as a person of honour. Mr. Shepley told me that he heard for certain at Dover that Mr. Edw. Montagu² did go beyond sea when he was here first the other day, and

¹ See 5th April, 1660. (M. B.)

² Eldest son of Edward, second Lord Montagu, of Boughton, killed at Bergen, 1665.

I am apt to believe that he went to speak with the King. This day one told me how that at the election at Cambridge for knights of the shire, Wendby and Thornton by declaring to stand for the Parliament and a King and the settlement of the Church, did carry it against all expectation against Sir Dudley North and Sir Thomas Willis.¹

21st. This day dined Sir John Boys² and some other gentlemen formerly great Cavaliers, and among the rest one Mr. Norwood,³ for whom my Lord give a convoy to carry him to the Brill, but he is certainly going to the King. For my Lord commanded me that I should not enter his name in my book. My Lord do show them and that sort of people great civility. All their discourse and others are of the King's coming, and we begin to speak of it very freely. And heard how in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchants' ships in the river, they had set up the King's arms. In the afternoon the Captain would by all means have me up to his cabin, and there treated me huge nobly, giving me a barrel of pickled oysters, and opened another for me, and a bottle of wine, which was a great favour. At night late singing with W. Howe, and under the barber's hands in the coach.⁴ This night there came

¹ He had represented Cambridgeshire in the preceding Parliament.

² Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

³ A Major Norwood had been Governor of Dunkirk; and a person of the same name occurs as one of the Esquires of the body at the Coronation of Charles the Second.

⁴ See 10th April, 1660. (M. B.)

one with a letter from Mr. Edw. Montagu to my Lord, with command to deliver it to his own hands. I do believe that he do carry some close business on for the King.¹ This day I had a large letter from Mr. Moore, giving me an account of the present dispute at London that is like to be at the beginning of the Parliament, about the House of Lords, who do resolve to sit with the Commons, as not thinking themselves dissolved yet. Which, whether it be granted or no, or whether they will sit or no, it will bring a great many inconveniencies. His letter I keep, it being a very well writ one.

22d. Several Londoners, strangers, friends of the Captains, dined here, who, among other things told us, how the King's Arms are every day set up in houses and churches, particularly in Allhallows Church in Thames-street, John Simpson's church, which being privately done was a great eye-sore to his people when they came to church and saw it. Also they told us for certain, that the King's statue is making by the Mercers' Company² (who are bound to do it) to set up in the Exchange. After sermon in the afternoon I fell to writing letters against to-morrow to send to London. After supper to bed.

23rd. This afternoon I had 40s. given me by Cap-

¹ Pepys' guess at E. Montagu's business is confirmed by Clarendon's account of his employment of him to negotiate with Lord Sandwich on behalf of the King. ("History of the Rebellion," book xvi.) — *Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2. (M. B.)

² As trustees for Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange.

tain Cowes of the Paradox. In the evening for the first time, extraordinary good sport among the seamen, after my Lord had done playing at ninepins. After that W. Howe and I went to play two trebles in the great cabin below, which my Lord hearing, after supper he called for our instruments, and played a set of Lock's, two trebles, and a base, and that being done, he fell to singing of a song made upon the Rump, with which he played himself very well, to the tune of "The Blacksmith." After all that done, then to bed.

24th. This morning I had Mr. Luellin and Mr. Shepley to the remainder of my oysters. After that very busy all the morning. While I was at dinner with my Lord, the Coxon of the Vice-Admiral came for me to the Vice-Admiral's to dinner. So I told my Lord and he gave me leave to go. I rose therefore from table and went, where there was very many commanders, and very pleasant we were on board the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich. After that, with the Captain on board our own ship, where we were saluted with the news of Lambert's being taken, which news was brought to London on Sunday last. He was taken in Northamptonshire by Colonel Ingoldsby,² in the head of a party,

¹ Sir John Lawson.

² Colonel Richard Ingoldsby had been Governor of Oxford under his kinsman Cromwell, and one of Charles the First's Judges; but was pardoned for the service here mentioned, and made K. B. at the Coronation of Charles II. He afterwards retired to his seat at Lethenborough, Bucks, and died 1685.

by which means their whole design is broke, and things now very open and safe. And every man begins to be merry and full of hopes. In the afternoon my Lord gave a great large character¹ to write out, so I spent all the day about it, and after supper my Lord and we had some more very good musique and singing of "Turne Amaryllis," as it is printed in the song book, with which my Lord was very much pleased. After that to bed.

25th. Dined to-day with Captain Clerke on board the Speaker² (a very brave ship) where was the Vice-Admiral, R. Admiral, and many other commanders. After dinner home, not a little contented to see how I am treated, and with what respect made a fellow to the best commanders in the Fleet. All the afternoon finishing of the character, which I did and gave it my Lord, it being very handsomely done and a very good one in itself, but that not truly Alphabetical. Supped with Mr. Shepley, W. Howe, &c. in Mr. Pierce, the Purser's cabin, where very merry, and so to bed.

26th. This day came Mr. Donne³ back from London, who brought letters with him that signify the meeting of the Parliament yesterday. And in the afternoon by other letters I hear, that about twelve of the Lords met and had chosen my Lord of Manchester Speaker of the House of Lords (the young Lords that never sat yet, do forbear to sit for the present) ;

¹ *i. e.* cipher. (M. B.)

² Of fifty-two guns; afterwards named the "Mary:" see May 23, 1660.

³ Probably Thomas Danes, at that time one of the Admiralty messengers.

and Sir Harbottle Grimstone,¹ Speaker for the House of Commons. The House of Lords sent to have a conference with the House of Commons, which, after a little debate, was granted. Dr. Reynolds preached before the Commons before they sat. My Lord told me how Sir H. Yelverton² (formerly my school-fellow) was chosen in the first place for Northamptonshire and Mr. Crew in the second. And told me how he did believe that the Cavaliers have now the upper hand clear of the Presbyterians. Mr. Shepley, W. Howe and I down with J. Goods into my Lord's store-room of wine and other drink, where it was very pleasant to observe the massy timbers that the ship is made of. We in the room were wholly under water and yet a deck below that. After that to supper, where Tom Guy supped with us, and we had very good laughing, and after that some musique, where Mr. Pickering beginning to play a bass part upon the viall did it so like a fool that I was ashamed of him. After that to bed.

27th. This morning Burr was absent again from on board, which I was troubled at, and spoke to Mr. Pierce, Purser, to speak to him of it, and it is my mind. This morning Pim [the tailor] spent in my cabin, putting a great many ribbons to a suit. After dinner came on board Sir Thomas Hatton³ and Sir R.

¹ Ancestor of the Earls of Verulam. He was made Master of the Rolls November following, and died 1683.

² Of Easton Mauduit, Bart., grandson to the Attorney General of both his names. Ob. 1679.

³ Of Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, Bart.

Maleverer¹ going for Flushing ; but all the world know that they go where the rest of the many gentlemen go that every day flock to the King at Breda. They supped here, and my Lord treated them as he do the rest that go thither, with a great deal of civility. While we were at supper a packet came, wherein much news from several friends. The chief is that, that I had from Mr. Moore, viz., that he fears the Cavaliers in the House will be so high, that the others will be forced to leave the House and fall in with General Monk, and so offer things to the King so high on the Presbyterian account that he may refuse, and so they will endeavour some more mischief ; but when I told my Lord it, he shook his head and told me, that the Presbyterians are deceived, for the General is certainly for the King's interest, and so they will not be able to prevail that way with him. After supper the two knights went on board the Grantham, that is to convey them to Flushing. I am informed that the Exchequer is now so low, that there is not 20*l.* there, to give the messenger that brought the news of Lambert's being taken ; which story is very strange that he should lose his reputation of being a man of courage now at one blow, for that he was not able to fight one stroke, but desired of Colonel Ingoldsby several times for God's sake to let him escape. Late reading my letters, my mind being much troubled to think that, after all our hopes, we

¹ Of Allerton Maleverer, Yorkshire, Bart.

should have any cause to fear any more disappointments therein.

28th. This morning sending a packet by Mr. Donne to London. In the afternoon I played at ninepins with Mr. Pickering, I and Mr. Pett against him and Ned Osgood, and won a crown apiece of him. He had not money enough to pay me. After supper my Lord exceeding merry, and he and I and W. Howe to sing, and so to bed.

29th (Sunday). This day I put on first my fine cloth suit made of a cloak. After sermon in the morning Mr. Cooke came from London with a packet, bringing news how all the young lords that were not in arms against the Parliament do now sit. That a letter is come from the King to the House, which is locked up by the Council 'till next Tuesday that it may be read in the open House when they meet again, they having adjourned till then to keep a fast to-morrow. And so the contents is not yet known. 13,000*l.* of the 20,000*l.* given to General Monk is paid out of the Exchequer, he giving 12*l.* among the teller's clerks of Exchequer. My Lord called me into the great cabin below, where he told me that the Presbyterians are quite mastered by the Cavaliers, and that he fears Mr. Crew did go a little too far the other day in keeping out the young lords from sitting. That he do expect that the King should be brought over suddenly, without staying to make any terms at all, saying that the Presbyterians did intend to have brought him in with such conditions as if he had been in chains.

But he shook his shoulders when he told me how Monk had betrayed him, for it was he that did put them upon standing to put out the lords and other members that came not within the qualifications, which he [Montagu] did not like, but however he [Monk] had done his business, though it be with some kind of baseness. After dinner I walked a great while upon the deck with the chyrurgeon and purser, and other officers of the ship, and they all pray for the King's coming, which I pray God send.

30th. All the morning getting instructions ready for the Squadron of ships that are going to-day to the Streights, among others Captain Teddiman, Curtis, and Captain Robert Blake to be commander of the whole Squadron. After dinner to ninepins, W. Howe and I against Mr. Creed and the Captain. We lost 5s. apiece to them. After that W. Howe, Mr. Shepley and I got my Lord's leave to go to see Captain Sparling. So we took boat and first went on shore, it being very pleasant in the fields; but a very pitiful town Deale is. We went to Fuller's (the famous place for ale), but they have not but what was in the vat. After that to Poole's, a taverne in the town, where we drank, and so to boat again, and went to the Assistance, where we were treated very civilly by the Captain, and he did give us such musique upon the harp by a fellow that he keeps on board that I never expect to hear the like again, yet he is a drunken simple fellow to look on as any I ever saw. After that on board the Nazeby, where we found my Lord

at supper, so I sat down and very pleasant my Lord was with Mr. Creed and Shepley, who he puzzled about finding out the meaning of the three notes which my Lord had cut over the chrystal of his watch. After supper some musique. Then Mr. Shepley, W. Howe and I up to the Lieutenant's cabin, where we drank, and W. Howe and I were very merry, and among other frolics he pulls out the spigot of the little vessel of ale that was there in the cabin and drew some into his mounteere,¹ and after he had drank, I endeavouring to dash it in his face, he got my velvet studying cap and drew some into mine too, that we made ourselves a great deal of mirth, but spoiled my clothes with the ale that we dashed up and down. After that to bed with drink enough in my head.

May 1st. This morning I was told how the people of Deale have set up two or three Maypoles, and have hung up their flags upon the top of them, and do resolve to be very merry to-day. It being a very pleasant day, I wished myself in Hide Parke.² This day I do count myself to have had full two years of perfect cure for the stone, for which God of heaven be blessed. This day Captain Parker came on board, and without his expectation I had a commission for him for the Nonsuch frigate, he being now in the

¹ *Mounteere*. See 20th March, 1659.⁸ (M. B.)

² See 30th April, 1661. "I am sorry that I was not at London to be at Hide Parke to morrow among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine." (M. B.)

Cheriton, for which he gave me a French pistole. Captain H. Cuttance has commission for the Cheriton. After dinner to nine-pins, and won something. The rest of the afternoon in my cabin writing and piping. While we were at supper we heard a great noise upon the Quarter Deck, so we all rose instantly, and found it was to save the coxon of the Cheriton, who, dropping overboard, could not be saved, but was drowned. To-day I hear they were very merry at Deale, setting up the King's flag upon one of their maypoles, and drinking his health upon their knees in the streets, and firing the guns, which the soldiers of the Castle threatened, but durst not oppose.

May 2nd. In the morning at a breakfast of Radyshees at the Purser's cabin. After that to writing till dinner. At which time comes Donne from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England. The King's letter was read in the House, wherein he submits himself and all things to them, as to an Act of Oblivion to all, unless they shall please to except any, as to the confirming of the sales of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The House upon reading the letter, ordered 50,000*l.* to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply ; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter ; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament ; and in all this not so much as one No. So that Luke

Robinson¹ himself stood up and made a recantation for what he had done, and promises to be a loyal subject to his Prince for the time to come. The City of London have put out a Declaration, wherein they do disclaim their owning any other government but that of a King, Lords, and Commons. Thanks was given by the House to Sir John Greenville,² one of the bedchamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was reading. Upon notice made from the Lords to the Commons, of their desire that the Commons would join with them in their vote for King, Lords, and Commons; the Commons did concur and voted that all books whatever that are out against the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be brought into the House and burned. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But every body seems to be very joyfull in the business, insomuch that our sea commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do.³ And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do noth-

¹ Of Pickering Lyth, in Yorkshire, M. P. for Scarborough; discharged from sitting in the House of Commons, July 21, 1660.

² Created Earl of Bath, 1661, son of Sir Bevil Grenville, killed at the battle of Newbury, and said to have been the only person entrusted by Charles II. and Monk in bringing about the Restoration.

³ The picture of King Charles II. was often set up in houses, without the least molestation, whereas, a while ago, it was almost a hanging matter so to do; but now the Rump Parliament was so hated and jeered at, that the butchers' boys would say, "Will you buy any Parliament rumps and

ing else this evening. This day came Mr. North¹ (Sir Dudley North's son) on board, to spend a little time here, which my Lord was a little troubled at, but he seems to be a fine gentleman, and at night did play his part exceeding well at first sight.

3d. This morning my Lord showed me the King's declaration and his letter to the two Generals to be communicated to the fleet. The contents of the letter are his offer of grace to all that will come in within forty days, only excepting them that the Parliament shall hereafter except. That the sales of lands during these troubles, and all other things, shall be left to the Parliament, by which he will stand. The letter dated at Breda, April 4, 1660, in the 12th year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Phillips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war, and in the mean time did dictate to me how he would have the vote ordered which he would have pass this council. Which done, the Commanders all came on board, and the council sat in the coach² (the first council of war that had been in my time), where I read the letter and declaration; and while they were discoursing upon it, I seemed to draw up a vote, which being offered, they passed. Not one man seemed to say no to it, though I am confident many in their

kidneys?" And it was a very ordinary thing to see little children make a fire in the streets, and burn rumps. — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

¹ Charles, eldest son of Dudley, afterwards fourth Lord North.

² See 10th April, 1660. (M. B.)

hearts were against it. After this was done, I went up to the quarter-deck with my Lord and the Commanders, and there read both the papers and the vote ; which done, and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, " God bless King Charles ! " with the greatest joy imaginable. That being done, Sir R. Stayner,¹ who had invited us yesterday, took all the Commanders and myself on board him to dinner, which not being ready, I went with Captain Hayward to the Plimouth and Essex,² and did what I had to do there and returned, where very merry at dinner. After dinner, to the rest of the ships quite through the fleet. Which was a very brave sight to visit all the ships, and to be received with the respect and honour that I was on board them all ; and much more to see the great joy that I brought to all men ; not one through the whole fleet showing the least dislike of the business. In the evening as I was going on board the Vice-Admiral, the General began to fire his guns, which he did all that he had in the ship, and so did all the rest of the Commanders, which was very gallant, and to hear the bullets go hissing over our heads as we were in the boat. This done and finished by Proclamation, I returned to the Nazeby, where my Lord was much pleased to hear how all the fleet took it in a transport of joy, showed me a private letter of the King's to

¹ Knighted and made a Vice-Admiral by Cromwell, 1657, and sent by Charles II. to command at Tangier till the Governor arrived.

² John Hayward was captain of the Plymouth. Thomas Binns commanded the Essex.

him, and another from the Duke of York in such familiar style as to their common friend, with all kindness imaginable. And I found by the letters, and so my Lord told me too, that there had been many letters passed between them for a great while, and I perceive unknown to Monk. And among the rest that had carried these letters Sir John Boys¹ is one, and that Mr. Norwood, which had a ship to carry him over the other day, when my Lord would not have me put down his name in the book. The King speaks of his being courted to come to the Hague, but do desire my Lord's advice where to come to take ship. And the Duke offers to learn the seaman's trade of him, in such familiar words as if Jack Cole and I had writ them. This was very strange to me, that my Lord should carry all things so wisely and prudently as he do, and I was over joyful to see him in so good condition, and he did not a little please himself to tell me how he had provided for himself so great a hold on the King.

After this to supper, and then to writing of letters till twelve at night, and so up again at three in the morning. My Lord seemed to put great confidence in me, and would take my advice in many things. I perceive his being willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the honour of doing the business, though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-sculled fool. So

¹ See April 21st, *ante*.

that I do believe there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my Lord to let Monk carry on the business, for it is he that must do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed. This, my Lord will hint himself sometimes. My Lord, I perceive by the King's letter, had writ to him about his father, Crew,¹ and the King did speak well of him; but my Lord tells me, that he is afraid that he hath too much concerned himself with the Presbyterians against the House of Lords, which will do him a great discourtesy.

4th. I wrote this morning many letters, and to all the copies of the vote of the council of war I put my name, that if it should come in print my name may be to it. I sent a copy of the vote to Doling, inclosed in this letter:—

“SIR,—He that can fancy a fleet (like ours) in her pride, with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and the loud “Vive le Roy's,” echoed from one ship's company to another, he, and he only, can apprehend the joy this inclosed vote was received with, or the blessing he thought himself possessed of that bore it, and is
Your humble servant.”

About nine o'clock I got all my letters done, and sent them by the messenger that came yesterday. This morning came Captain Isham on board with a gentleman going to the King, by whom very cunningly, my Lord tells me, he intends to send an account of this day's and yesterday's actions here,

¹ He had married *Jemima*, daughter of *John Crewe, Esq.*, created afterwards *Baron Crewe of Stene*.

notwithstanding he had writ to the Parliament to have leave of them to send the King the answer of the fleete. Since my writing of the last paragraph, my Lord called me to him to read his letter to the King, to see whether I could find any slips in it or no. And as much of the letter¹ as I can remember, is thus : —

“May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,”
and so begins.

That he yesterday received from General Monk his Majesty's letter and direction; and that General Monk had desired him to write to the Parliament to have leave to send the vote of the seamen before he did send it to him, which he had done by writing to both Speakers; but for his private satisfaction he had sent it thus privately (and so the copy of the proceedings yesterday was sent him), and that this come by a gentleman that came this day on board, intending to wait upon his Majesty, that he is my Lord's countryman, and one whose friends have suffered much on his Majesty's behalf. That my Lords Pembroke² and Salisbury³ are put out of the House of Lords. That my Lord is very joyful that other countries do pay him the civility and respect due to him; and that he do much rejoyce to see that the King do resolve to receive none of their assistance (or some such words), from them, he having strength enough in the love and loyalty of his own subjects

¹ Lord Sandwich's letter to the King, which Pepys gives from memory, is printed in Lister's *Clarendon*, and a reference to the letter will show the accuracy of Pepys' memory. — *Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2. (M. B.)

² Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and second Earl of Montgomery, ob. 1669. Clarendon says, “This young Earl's affections were entire for his Majesty.”

³ Williams, second Earl of Salisbury. After Cromwell had put down the House of Peers, he was chosen a Member of the House of Commons, and sat with them. Ob. 1668.

to support him. That his Majesty had chosen the best place, Scheveling, for his embarking, and that there is nothing in the world of which he is more ambitious, than to have the honour of attending his Majesty, which he hoped would be speedy. That he had commanded the vessel to attend at Helversluce till this gentleman returns, that so if his Majesty do not think it fit to command the fleet himself, yet that he may be there to receive his commands and bring them to his Lordship. He ends his letter, that he is confounded with the thoughts of the high expressions of love to him in the King's letter, and concludes,

“Your most loyall, dutifull, faithfull and obedient subject
and servant, E. M.”

The rest of the afternoon at ninepins. In the evening came a packet from London, among the rest a letter from my wife, which tells me that she has not been well, which did exceedingly trouble me, but my Lord sending Mr. Cooke at night, I wrote to her and sent a piece of gold enclosed to her, and wrote also to Mrs. Bowyer, and enclosed a half piece to her for a token. After supper at the table in the coach, my Lord talking concerning the uncertainty of the places of the Exchequer to them that had them now; he did at last think of an office which do belong to him in case the King do restore every man to his places that ever had been patent, which is to be one of the clerks of the signet, which will be a fine employment for one of his sons.

In the afternoon came a minister on board, one Mr. Sharpe, who is going to the King; who tells me that Commissioners are chosen both of Lords and Com-

mons to go to the King; and that Dr. Clarges¹ is going to him from the Army, and that he will be here to-morrow. My letters at night tell me, that the House did deliver their letter to Sir John Greenville, in answer to the King's sending, and that they give him 500*l.* for his pains, to buy him a jewel, and that besides the 50,000*l.* ordered to be borrowed of the City for the present use of the King, the twelve companies of the City do give every one of them to his Majesty, as a present, 1000*l.*

5th. All the morning very busy writing letters to London, and a packet to Mr. Downing, to acquaint him with what had been done lately in the fleet. And this I did by my Lord's command, who, I thank him, did of himself think of doing it, to do me a kindness, for he writ a letter himself to him, thanking him for his kindness to me. All the afternoon at ninepins, at night after supper good musique, my Lord, Mr. North, I and W. Howe. After that to bed. This evening came Dr. Clarges to Deale, going to the King; where the townes-people strewed the streets with herbes against his coming, for joy of his going. Never was there so general a content as there is now. I cannot but remember that our parson did, in his prayer to-night, pray for the long life and happiness of our King and dread Sovereigne, that may last as long as the sun and moon endureth.

¹ Thomas Clarges, physician to the Army, created a Baronet, 1674, ob. 1695. He had been previously knighted; his sister Anne married General Monk.

6th (Lord's day). This morning while we were at sermon comes in Dr. Clarges and a dozen gentlemen to see my Lord, who, after sermon, dined with him; I remember that last night upon discourse concerning Clarges my Lord told me that he was a man of small *entendimiento*. It fell very well to-day, a stranger preached here for Mr. Ibbot, one Mr. Stanley, who prayed for King Charles, by the Grace of God, &c., which gave great contentment to the gentlemen that were on board here, and they said they would talk of it, when they come to Breda, as not having it done yet in London so publickly. After they were gone from on board, my Lord writ a letter to the King and give it me to carry privately to Sir William Compton¹ on board the Assistance, which I did, and after a health to his Majesty on board there, I left them under sail for Breda. Back again and found them at sermon. I went up to my cabin and looked over my accounts, and find that, all my debts paid and my preparations to sea paid for, I have 40*l*. clear in my purse. After supper to bed.

7th. My Lord went this morning about the flagships in a boat, to see what alterations there must be, as to the armes and flags. He did give me order

¹ Sir William Compton, third son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, a Privy Counsellor and Master of the Ordnance, ob. 1663, aged 39. When only eighteen years of age he had charged with his gallant father at the battle of Edgehill. His mother was first cousin to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and to John Ashburnham; and his great uncle, Sir Thomas Compton, had been the third husband of the Duke's mother, Mary, Countess of Buckingham.

also to write for silk flags and scarlett waistcloathes.¹ For a rich barge ; for a noise of trumpets,² and a set of fiddlers. Very great deal of company come to-day, among others Mr. Bellasses,³ Sir Thomas Lenthropp,⁴ Sir Henry Chichley, Colonel Philip Honiwood,⁵ and Captain Titus,⁶ the last of whom my Lord showed all our cabins, and I suppose he is to take notice what room there will be for the King's entertainment. Here were also all the Jurates of the towne of Dover come to give my Lord a visit, and after dinner all went away. I could not but observe that the Vice-Admiral after dinner came into the great cabin below, where the Jurates and I and the commanders for want of room dined, and there told us we must drink a health to the King, and himself called for a bottle of wine, and begun his and the Duke of York's. In the afternoon I lost 5s. at nine-pins. After supper musique, and to bed. Having also among us at the Coach table wrote a letter to the French ambassador, in French, about the release of a ship we had taken. After I was in bed Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came

¹ Clothes hung about the cage-work of a ship's hull to protect the men in action.

² *Noise* of trumpets, a concert or company. "I hear him coming and a whole *noise* of fiddlers at his heels." — DRYDEN, *Wild Gallant*. (M. B.)

³ Henry, eldest son of Lord Bellasis, made K. B. at Charles the Second's Coronation.

⁴ Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, Bart., married Mary, daughter of Sir Capell Bedell, Bart.: ob. 1671.

⁵ See note to 13th January, 1661-62.

⁶ Colonel Silas Titus, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., author of "Killing no Murder."

and sat in my cabin, where I gave them three bottles of Margate ale, and sat laughing and very merry, till almost one o'clock in the morning, and so good night.

8th. All the morning busy. After dinner come several persons of honour, as my Lord St. John and others, for convoy to Flushing, and great giving of them salutes. My Lord and we at nine-pins: I lost 9s. While we were at play Mr. Cooke brings me word of my wife. He went to Huntsmore¹ to see her, and brought her and my father to London, where he left her at my father's, very well, and speaks very well of her love to me. My letters to-day tell me how it was intended that the King should be proclaimed to-day in London, with a great deal of pomp. I had also news who they are that are chosen of the Lords and Commons to attend the King. And also the whole story of what we did the other day in the fleet, at reading of the King's declaration, and my name at the bottom of it.

9th. Up very early, writing a letter to the King, as from the two Generals of the fleet, in answer to his letter to them, wherein my Lord do give most humble thanks for his gracious letter and declaration; and promises all duty and obedience to him. This letter was carried this morning to Sir Peter Killigrew,² who came hither this morning early to bring an order from the Lords' House to my Lord, giving him power to

¹ A hamlet belonging to Iver, in which parish *Robert Bowyer* founded a free school, about 1750. — *LYSONS'S History of Buckinghamshire*, p. 587.

² Knight, of Arwenach, Cornwall, M. P. for Camelford, 1660.

write an answer to the King. This morning my Lord St. John and other persons of honour were here to see my Lord, and so away to Flushing. As we were sitting down to dinner, in comes Noble with a letter from the House of Lords to my Lord, to desire him to provide ships to transport the Commissioners to the King, which are expected here this week. He brought us certain news that the King was proclaimed yesterday with great pomp, and brought down one of the Proclamations, with great joy to us all; for which God be praised. This morning came Mr. Saunderson,¹ that writ the story of the King, hither, who is going over to the King.

10th. This morning came on board Mr. Pinkney and his son, going to the King with a petition finely writ by Mr. Whore, for to be the King's embroiderer; for whom and Mr. Saunderson I got a ship. This morning came my Lord Winchelsea and a great deal of company, and dined here. In the afternoon while my Lord and we were at musique in the great cabin below, comes in a messenger to tell us that Mr. Edward Montagu,² my Lord's son, was come to Deale, who afterwards came on board with Mr. Pickering with him. The child was sick in the evening. At night, while my Lord was at supper, in comes my Lord Lauderdale³ and Sir John Greenville, who supped

¹ Afterwards Sir William Sanderson, gentleman of the chamber, author of the "History of Mary Queen of Scots, James I., and Charles I." His wife, Dame Bridget, was mother of the maids.

² Lord Sandwich's eldest son, called by Pepys "The child." (M. B.)

³ John, second Earl and afterwards created Duke of Lauderdale, Earl of

here, and so went away. After they were gone, my Lord called me into his cabin, and told me how he was commanded to set sail presently for the King,¹ and was very glad thereof. I got him afterwards to sign things in bed.

11th. Up very early in the morning, and so about a great deal of business in order to our going hence to-day. Burr going on shore last night made me very angry. This morning we began to pull down all the State's arms in the fleet, having first sent to Dover for painters and others to come to set up the King's. I had this morning my first opportunity of discoursing with Dr. Clerke, who I found to be a very pretty man and very knowing. He is now going in this ship to the King. There dined here my Lord Crafford² and my Lord Cavendish,³ and other Scotchmen whom I afterwards ordered to be received on board the Plymouth, and to go along with us. After dinner we set sail from the Downes, I leaving my boy to go to Deale for my linen. In the afternoon overtook us three or four gentlemen; two of the Berties,⁴

Guilford (in England), and K. G. He became sole Secretary of State for Scotland in 1661, and was a Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber, and died in 1682, s. p.

¹ Ordered that General Montagu do observe the command of His Majesty for the disposing of the fleet, in order to His Majesty's returning home to England to his kingly government: and that all proceedings in law be in His Majesty's name. — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

² John, fourteenth Earl of Crauford, restored in 1661 to the office of High Treasurer of Scotland, which he had held eight years under Charles the First.

³ Afterwards fourth Earl and first Duke of Devonshire.

⁴ Robert and Edward Bertie, two of the surviving sons of Robert, first

and one Mr. Dormerhoy,¹ a Scotch gentleman, whom I afterwards found to be a very fine man, who, telling my Lord that they heard the Commissioners were come out of London to-day, my Lord dropt anchor over against Dover Castle (which give us about thirty guns in passing), and upon a high debate with the Vice and Rear-Admiral whether it were safe to go and not stay for the Commissioners, he did resolve to send Sir R. Stayner to Dover, to enquire of my Lord Winchelsea,² whether or no they are come out of London, and then to resolve to-morrow morning of going or not. Which was done. It blew very hard all this night that I was afraid of my boy. About 11 at night came the boats from Deale, with great store of pro-

Earl of Lindsay, killed at Edgehill. Their mother was Elizabeth, only child of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton: they were, therefore, nearly connected with Sir E. Montagu, and with Pepys, in some degree.

¹ This may be rather Thomas Dalmahoy, who had married the Duchess Dowager of Hamilton: see (*infra*) Speaker Onslow's note to Burnet. The husband of the loyal Duchess would be naturally one of the first to welcome the King; and Onslow says he was in the interest of the Duke of York: — "Lord Middleton retired, after his disgrace, to the Friary, near Guildford, to one Dalmahoy there, a genteel, generous man, who was of Scotland: had been Gentleman of the Horse to William Duke of Hamilton (killed at the battle of Worcester); married that Duke's widow; and by her had this house, &c. This man, Dalmahoy, being much in the interest of the Duke of York, and a man to be relied upon, and long a candidate for the town of Guildford, at the election of the Parliament after the Long one, in 1678, and being opposed, I think, by the famous Algernon Sidney, the Duke of York came from Windsor to Dalmahoy's house, to countenance his election, and appeared for him in the open court, when the election was taken." — Note to BURNET'S *O. T.*, vol. i. p. 350.

² Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, constituted by General Monk Governor of Dover Castle, July, 1660; made Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and afterwards ambassador to Turkey. Ob. 1689.

visions, by the same token John Goods told me that above 20 of the fowls are smothered, but my boy was put on board the Northwich.

12th. This morning I inquired for my boy, whether he was come well or no, and it was told me that he was well in bed. My Lord called me to his chamber, he being in bed, and gave me many orders to make for direction for the ships that are left in the Downes, giving them the greatest charge in the world to bring no passengers with them, when they come after us to Scheveling Bay, excepting Mr. Edward Montagu, Mr. Thomas Crew, and Sir H. Wright. Sir R. Stayner told my Lord, that my Lord Winchelsea understands by letters, that the Commissioners are only to come to Dover to attend the coming over of the King. So my Lord did give order for weighing anchor, which we did, and sailed all day. In our way in the morning, coming in the midway between Dover and Calais, we could see both places very easily, and very pleasant it was to me that the further we went the more we lost sight of both lands. In the afternoon at cards with Mr. North and the Doctor.¹ There by us, in the Lark frigate, Sir R. Freeman and some others, going from the King to England, come to see my Lord and so onward on their voyage.

13th (Lord's day). Trimmed in the morning, after that to the cook's room with Mr. Shepley, the first time that I was there this voyage. Then to the

¹ Clerke.

quarter-deck, upon which the taylors and painters were at work, cutting out some pieces of yellow cloth into the fashion of a crown and C. R. and put it upon a fine sheet, and that into the flag instead of the State's arms, which after dinner was finished and set up after it had been shewn to my Lord, who liked it so well as to bid me give the tailors 20s. among them for doing of it. This morn Sir J. Boys and Capt. Isham met us in the Nonsuch, the first of whom, after a word or two with my Lord, went forward, the other staid. I heard by them how Mr. Downing had never made any address to the King, and for that was hated exceedingly by the Court, and that he was in a Dutch ship which sailed by us, then going to England with disgrace. Also how Mr. Morland¹ was knighted by the King this week, and that the King did give the reason of it openly, that it was for his giving him intelligence all the time he was clerk to Secretary Thurloe. In the afternoon a council of war, only to acquaint them that the Harp must be taken out of all their flags, it being very offensive to the King.² Mr. Cooke

¹ Samuel Morland, successively scholar and fellow of Magdalene College, and Mr. Pepys's tutor there, became afterwards one of Thurloe's under-secretaries, and was employed in several embassies by Cromwell, whose interests he betrayed, by secretly communicating with Charles the Second. In consideration of these services he was created a baronet of Sulhamstead Banister, Berks, after the Restoration. He was an ingenious mechanic, supposed by some persons to have invented the steam engine, and lived to an advanced age. He was buried at Hammersmith, 6th January, 1695-96. His MSS. are at Cambridge, in the Public Library; and his brief but interesting Autobiography has been printed by Mr. Halliwell.

² No doubt, because Charles II. objected to the arms used during the Protectorate.

brought me a letter from my wife and a Latin letter from my brother John, with both of which I was exceedingly pleased. No sermon all day, we being under sail, only at night prayers, wherein Mr. Ibbott prayed for all that were related to us in a spiritual and fleshly way. Late at night we writ letters to the King of the news of our coming, and Mr. Edward Pickering¹ carried them. Capt. Isham went on shore, nobody showing of him any respect; so the old man very fairly took leave of my Lord, and my Lord very coldly bid him "God be with you," which was very strange, but that I hear that he keeps a great deal of prating and talking on shore, on board, at the King's Courts, what command he had with my Lord, &c.

14th. In the morning when I woke and rose, I saw myself out of the scuttle close by the shore, which afterwards I was told to be the Dutch shore; the Hague was clearly to be seen by us. My Lord went up in his nightgown into the cuddy, to see how to dispose thereof for himself and us that belong to him, to give order for our removal to-day. Some nasty Dutchmen came on board to proffer their boats to carry things from us on shore, &c. to get money by us. Before noon some gentlemen came on board from the shore to kiss my Lord's hands. And by and by Mr. North and Dr. Clerke went to kiss the Queen of Bohemia's hands, from my Lord, with twelve attendants from on board to wait on them, among which I

¹ Sir Gilbert Pickering's eldest son.

sent my boy,¹ who, like myself, is with child to see any strange thing. After noon they came back again after having kissed the Queen of Bohemia's² hand, and were sent again by my Lord to do the same to the Prince of Orange.³ So I got the Captain to ask leave for me to go, which my Lord did give, and I taking my boy and Judge Advocate with me, went in company with them. The weather bad; we were sadly washed when we came near the shore, it being very hard to land there. The shore is, as all the country between that and the Hague, all sand. The rest of the company got a coach by themselves; Mr. Creed and I went in the fore part of a coach wherein were two very pretty ladies, very fashionable and with black patches, who very merrily sang all the way and that very well, and were very free to kiss the two blades that were with them. I took out my flageolette and piped, but in piping I dropped my rapier-stick, but when I came to the Hague, I sent my boy back again for it and he found it, for which I did give him 6*d.*, but some horses had gone over it and broke the scabbard. The Hague is a most neat place in all respects. The houses so neat in all places and things as is possible. Here we walked up and down a great while, the towne being now very full of Englishmen, for that the Londoners were come on shore to-day. But going

¹ Young Edward Montagu, afterwards styled "the child."

² Elizabeth, daughter of James the First; widow of Frederic Elector Palatine, and titular King of Bohemia.

³ Afterwards William the Third

to see the Prince,¹ he was gone forth with his governor, and so we walked up and down the towne and court to see the place ; and by the help of a stranger, an Englishman, we saw a great many places, and were made to understand many things, as the intencion of may-poles, which we saw there standing at every great man's door, of different greatness according to the quality of the person. About 10 at night the Prince comes home, and we found an easy admission. His attendance very inconsiderable as for a prince ; but yet handsome, and his tutor a fine man, and himself a very pretty boy. This done we went to a place we had taken to sup in, where a sallet and two or three bones of mutton were provided for a matter of ten of us which was very strange. After supper the Judge and I to another house, leaving them there, and he and I lay in one press bed, there being two more in the same room, but all very neat and handsome, my boy sleeping upon a bench by me.

15th. We lay till past three o'clock, then up and down the towne, to see it by daylight, where we saw the soldiers of the Prince's guard, all very fine, and the burghers of the towne with their arms and muskets as bright as silver. And meeting this morning a schoolmaster that spoke good English and French, he went along with us and shewed us the whole towne, and indeed I cannot speak enough of the gallantry of the towne. Every body of fashion speaks French or

¹ The Prince of Orange, then in his tenth year. (M. B.)

Latin, or both. The women many of them very pretty and in good habits, fashionable and black spots. He went with me to buy a couple of baskets, one of them for Mrs. Pierce, the other for my wife. After he was gone, we having first drank with him at our lodging, the Judge and I to the Grande Salle where we were shewed the place where the States General sit in council. The hall is a great place, where the flags that they take from their enemies are all hung up ; and things to be sold, as in Westminster, and not much unlike it, but that not so big, but much neater. After that to a bookseller's and bought for the love of the binding three books : the French Psalms in four parts, Bacon's Organon, and Farnab. Rhetor. After that the Judge, I and my boy by coach to Scheveling again, where we went into a house of entertainment and drank there, the wind being very high, and we saw two boats overset and the gallants forced to be pulled on shore by the heels, while their trunks, portmanteaus, hats, and feathers, were swimming in the sea. Among others I saw the ministers that come along with the Commissioners (Mr. Case¹ among the rest) sadly dipped. So they came in where we were, and I being in haste left my Copenhagen knife, and so lost it. Having staid here a great while a gentleman that was going to kiss my Lord's hand, from the Queen of Bohemia, and I hired a Dutch boat for four rixdollars to carry us on board. We were fain to wait a great while

¹ See 1st November, 1660. A member of the Assembly of Divines. (M. B.)

before we could get off from the shore, the sea being very rough. The Dutchman would fain have made all pay that came into our boat besides us two and our company, there being many of our ship's company got in who were on shore, but some of them had no money, having spent all on shore. Coming on board we found all the Commissioners of the House of Lords at dinner with my Lord, who after dinner went away for shore. Mr. Morland, now Sir Samuel, was here on board, but I do not find that my Lord or any body did give him any respect, he being looked upon by him and all men as a knave. Among others he betrayed Sir Rich. Willis that married Dr. F. Jones's daughter, that he had paid him 1000*l.* at one time by the Protector's and Secretary Thurloe's order, for intelligence that he sent concerning the King.¹ In the afternoon my Lord called me on purpose to show me his fine cloathes which are now come hither, and indeed are very rich as gold and silver can make them, only his sword he and I do not like. In the afternoon my Lord and I walked together in the coach two hours, talking together upon all sorts of discourse: as religion, wherein he is, I perceive, wholly sceptical, saying, that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanatiques: he likes uniformity and form of prayer: about State-business, among other things he told me that his conversion to the King's cause (for I was saying that I wondered from what time the King

¹ See August 14, 1660. (M. B.)

could look upon him to become his friend), commenced from his being in the Sound, when he found what usage he was likely to have from a Commonwealth. My Lord, the Captain, and I supped in my Lord's chamber, where I did perceive that he did begin to show me much more respect than ever he did yet. After supper, my Lord sent for me, intending to have me play at cards with him, but I not knowing cribbage, we fell into discourse of many things, till it was so rough sea and the ship rolled so much that I was not able to stand, and so he bid me go to bed.

16th. Soon as I was up I went down to be trimmed below in the great cabin, but then come in some with visits, among the rest one from Admiral Opdam,¹ who spoke Latin well, but not French nor English, to whom my Lord made me to give his answer and to entertain; he brought my Lord a tierce of wine and a barrel of butter, as a present from the Admiral. Commissioner Pett² was come to take care to get all

¹ The Admiral celebrated in Lord Dorset's ballad, "To all you ladies now at land."

"Should foggy Opdam chance to know
Our sad and dismal story;
The Dutch would scorn so weak a foe,
And quit their fort at Goree:
For what resistance can they find
From men who've left their hearts behind?"

² Peter Pett, then one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and afterwards knighted by the Duke of Ormond, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His ancestors had been eminent ship-builders at Deptford for several generations, and had served their respective sovereigns with credit and success. At this

things ready for the King on board. My Lord in his best suit, this the first day, in expectation to wait upon the King. But Mr. Edw. Pickering coming from the King brought word that the King would not put my Lord to the trouble of coming to him; but that he would come to the shore to look upon the fleet to-day, which we expected, and had our guns ready to fire, and our scarlet waist-cloathes out and silk pendants, but he did not come. This evening came Mr. John Pickering¹ on board, like an asse, with his feath-

time, there were three others of the same name and family in the civil service of the navy.

	SALARIES.		
	£	s.	d.
Phineas Pett, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham . . .	120	0	0
Phineas Pett, Jun., Assistant to the Master Shipwright			
at Chatham	70	0	0
Christopher Pett, Master Shipwright at Woolwich . .	103	8	4

So Fuller might well observe that the mystery of shipwrights for some descents hath been preserved successively in families, "of which the Pettes of Chatham are of singular regard."—*Worthies of England*. There is an interesting autobiographical memoir of Phineas Pett, master shipwright to James I., in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xii.

"Beyond the Victualling Office, on the same side of the High Street, at Rochester, is an old mansion, now occupied by a Mr. Morson, an attorney, which formerly belonged to the Petts, the celebrated ship-builders. The chimney-piece in the principal room is of wood, curiously carved, the upper part being divided into compartments by caryatides. The central compartment contains the family arms, viz., *Or*, on a fesse *gu.*, between three pellets, a lion passant gardant of the field. On the back of the grate is a cast of Neptune, standing erect in his car, with Tritons blowing conches, &c., and the date 1650."—*Hist. of Rochester*, p. 337, ed. 1817.

¹ Eldest son of Sir Gilbert Pickering, whom he succeeded in his titles and estates in 1668. His father had been an active Commonwealth man, and was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Northampton, in 1656; he was also of Cromwell's council, chamberlain of the court, and high steward of Westminster. Sir Gilbert Pickering's petition being read, he was ordered

ers and new suit that he had made at the Hague. My Lord very angry for his staying on shore, bidding me a little before to send to him, telling me that he was afraid that for his father's sake he might have some mischief done him, unless he used the General's name. To supper, and after supper to cards. I stood by and looked on till 11 at night and so to bed. This afternoon Mr. Edwd. Pickering told me in what a sad, poor condition for clothes and money the King was,¹ and all his attendants, when he came to him first from my Lord, their clothes not being worth forty shillings the best of them. And how overjoyed the King was when Sir J. Greenville brought him some money; so joyful, that he called the Princess Royal² and Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out.³ My Lord told me, too, that the Duke of York is made High Admiral of England.

17th. Dr. Clerke came to me to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Dutch that are come on

to be excepted as to the penalties to be inflicted not reaching to life, by an act provided for that purpose. — *Commons' Journals*; see 19th June, 1660.

¹ Andrew Marvell, speaking of the poor condition, for clothes and money, in which the King was at this time, observes —

“ At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him back to help the State;
And what is more, they send him money, too,
And clothe him all from head to foot anew.”

² Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., and widow of the Prince of Orange, who died 1646–7. She was carried off by the small-pox, December, 1660, leaving a son, afterwards King William III.

³ A picture, in which this scene is well treated, by Mr. W. Carpenter, was lately exhibited at the Royal Academy.

board already to see the ship, that there was a Portuguese taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King. But this I heard afterwards was only the mistake upon one being observed to walk with his sword naked, he having lost his scabbard. Before dinner Mr. Edw. Pickering and I, W. Howe, Pim, and my boy,¹ to Scheveling, where we took coach, and so to the Hague, where walking, intending to find one that might show us the King incognito, I met with Captain Whittington (that had formerly brought a letter to my Lord from the Mayor of London) and he did promise me to do it, but first we went and dined at a French house, but paid 16s. for our part of the club. At dinner in came Dr. Cade, a merry mad parson of the King's. And they two after dinner got the child and me (the others not being able to crowd in) to see the King, who kissed the child very affectionately. Then we kissed his, and the Duke of York's, and the Princess Royal's hands. The King seems to be a very sober man; and a very splendid Court he hath in the number of persons of quality that are about him; English very rich in habit. From the King to the Lord Chancellor, who did lie bed-ridden of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child and me. After that, going to see the Queene of Bohemia, I met with Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edw. Pickering, while I and the rest went to see the Queene, who used us very respectfully; her hand

¹ Edward Montagu.

we all kissed. She seems a very debonaire, but a plain lady. In a coach we went to see a house of the Princess Dowager's¹ in a park about half-a-mile or a mile from the Hague, where there is one, the most beautiful room for pictures in the whole world. She had here one picture upon the top, with these words, dedicating it to the memory of her husband:—"Incomparabili marito, inconsolabilis vidua."² Here I met with Mr. Woodcock of Cambridge, Mr. Hardy and another, and Mr. Woodcock beginning we had two or three fine songs, he and I, and W. Howe to the Echo, which was very pleasant, and the more because in a heaven of pleasure and in a strange country, that I never was taken up more with a sense of pleasure in my life. After that we parted and back to the Hague and took a tour or two about the Forehault, where the ladies in the evening do as our ladies do in Hyde Park. But for my life I could not find one handsome, but their coaches very rich and themselves so too. From thence, taking leave of the Doctor, we took wagon to Scheveling, where we had a fray with the Boatswain of the Richmond, who would not freely carry us on board, but at last he was willing to it, but then it was so late we durst not go. So we returned between 10 and 11 at night in the dark with a wagon with one horse to the Hague, where being come we went to bed as well as we could be accommodated, and so to sleep.

¹ Mary, daughter of Charles I.

² And yet, like the Ephesian matron, she was said to be married clandestinely.

18th. Very early up, and, hearing that the Duke of York, our Lord High Admiral, would go on board to-day, Mr. Pickering and I took waggon for Scheveling, leaving the child in Mr. Pierce's hands, with directions to keep him within doors all day till he heard from me. But the wind being very high that no boats could get off from shore, we returned to the Hague (having breakfasted with a gentleman of the Duke's, and Commissioner Pett, sent on purpose to give notice to my Lord of his coming), where I hear that the child is gone to Delfe to see the town. So we all and Mr. Ibbott, the Minister, took a schuit¹ and very much pleased with the manner and conversation of the passengers, where most speak French; went after them, but met them by the way. But however we went forward making no stop. Where when we were come we got a smith's boy of the town to go along with us, but could speak nothing but Dutch, and he showed us the church where Van Trump lies entombed with a very fine monument. His epitaph concluded thus:—"Tandem Bello Anglico tantum non victor, certe invictus, vivere et vincere desiit." There is a sea-fight cut in marble, with the smoake, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life. From thence to the great church, that stands in a fine great market-place, over against the Stadt-house, and there I saw a stately

¹ *Schuit*. In Ludwig's German-Eng. Dictionary "*Treckschüte*" is explained, "a draw-skute, drag-skute, or drag-barge, such as are very common in Holland," now called "*Treckschuit*" (drag-boat), the towing horse being ridden by a lad. (M. B.)

tombe of the old Prince of Orange, of marble and brass; wherein among other rarities there are the angels with their trumpets expressed as it were crying. Here were very fine organs in both the churches. It is a most sweet town, with bridges, and a river in every street. Observing that in every house of entertainment there hangs in every room a poor-man's box, and desiring to know the reason thereof, it was told me that it is their custom to confirm all bargains by putting something into the poor people's box, and that that binds as fast as anything. We also saw the Guesthouse, where it was very pleasant to see what neat preparation there is for the poor. We saw one poor man a-dying there. After we had seen all, we light by chance of an English house to drink in, where we were very merry, and discoursing of the towne and the thing that hangs up in the Stadthouse like a bushel, which I was told is a sort of punishment for some sort of offenders to carry through the streets over his head, which is a great weight. Back by water, where a pretty sober Dutch lass sat reading all the way, and I could not fasten any discourse upon her. At our landing we met with Commissioner Pett going down to the water-side with Major Harly,¹ who is going upon a dispatch into England. They having a coach I left the Parson and my boy and went along with Commissioner

¹ Afterwards Colonel Edward Harley, M.P. for Hereford, and Governor of Dunkirk; ancestor of the Earls of Oxford of that race, recently become extinct in the male line. He was afterwards made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles II.

Pett, Mr. Ackworth and Mr. Dawes his friends, to the Princess Dowager's house again. Thither also my Lord Fairfax and some other English Lords did come to see it, and my pleasure was increased by seeing of it again. Besides we went into the garden, wherein are gallant nuts better than ever I saw, and a fine Echo under the house in a vault made on purpose with pillars, where I played on my flageolette to great advantage. Back to the Hague, where not finding Mr. Edward, I was much troubled, but went with the Parson to supper to Commissioner Pett, where we sat late. And among other mirth Mr. Ackworth vyed wives, each endeavouring to set his own wife out to the best advantage, he having as they said an extraordinary handsome wife. But Mr. Dawes could not be got to say anything of his. After that to our lodging where W. Howe and I exceedingly troubled not to know what is become of our young gentleman. So to bed.

19th. Up early, hearing nothing of the child, and went to Scheveling, where I found no getting on board, though the Duke of York sent every day to see whether he could do it or no. Here I met with Mr. Pinkney and his sons, and with them went back to the Hague, in our way lighting and going to see a woman that makes pretty rock-work in shells, &c., which could I have carried safe I would have bought some of. At the Hague we went to buy some pictures, where I saw a sort of painting done upon woollen cloth, drawn as if there was a curtain over it, which was very pleasant, but dear. Another pretty

piece of painting I saw, on which there was a great wager laid by young Pinkney and me whether it was a principal or a copy. But not knowing how to decide, it was broken off, and I got the old man to lay out as much as my piece of gold come to, and so saved my money, which had been 24*s.* lost, I fear. While we were here buying of pictures, we saw Mr. Edward and his company land. Who told me that they had been at Leyden all night, at which I was very angry with Mr. Pierce, and shall not be friends I believe a good while. To our lodging to dinner. After that out to buy some linen to wear against to-morrow, and so to the barber's. After that by waggon to Lausdune where the 365 children were born. We saw the hill where they say the house stood and sunk wherein the children were born. The basins wherein the male and female children were baptized do stand over a large table that hangs upon a wall, with the whole story of the thing in Dutch and Latin, beginning, "*Margarita Herman Comitissa,*" &c. The thing was done about 200 years ago.¹

The towne is a little small village which answers much to one of our small villages, such a one as Cherterton in all respects, and one could have thought it in England but for the language of the people. We went into a little drinking house where there were a great many Dutch boors eating of fish in a boorish manner, but very merry in their way. But the houses

¹ This story has been frequently printed.

here as neat as in the great places. From thence to the Hague again playing at crambo¹ in the waggon, Mr. Edward, Mr. Ibbott, W. Howe, Mr. Pinkney, and I. When we were come thither the others went away for Scheveling, while I and the child to walk up and down the town, where I met my old chamber-fellow, Mr. Ch. Anderson, and a friend of his, both Physicians, Mr. Wright, who took me to a Dutch house, where there was an exceeding pretty lass, where I staid till 12 at night. Going to my lodging we met with the bellman, who struck upon a clapper, which I took in my hand, and it is just like the clapper that our boys frighten the birds away from the corn with in summer time in England. So to bed.

20th. Up early, and with Mr. Pickering and the child by waggon to Scheveling, where it not being yet fit to go off, I went to lie down in a chamber in the house, where in another bed there was a pretty Dutch woman, but though I had a month's-mind² I had not

¹ *Crambo*. Explained in Ludwig's Eng.-German Dictionary: "Ein reimspiel, da derjenige, der so ein wort wiederholet, einen fehler begehet," a game at rhyme, where he who repeats a word commits a fault. Another explanation of the game of *Crambe* or *Crambo*, is "a play at short verses, in which a word is given, and the parties contend who can find most rhymes to it."

"Where every jovial tinker, for his chink,
May cry ' Mine host to crambe ! Give us drink,
And do not slink, but skink, or else you stink."

BEN JONSON, *The New Inn*, Act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

² *Month's-mind*. An earnest desire or longing, explained as alluding to "a woman's longing." See Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act i. sc. 2 :

"I see you have a *month's mind* to them." (M. B.)

the boldness to go to her. So there I slept an hour or two. At last she rose, and then I rose and walked up and down the chamber, and saw her dress herself after the Dutch dress, and talked to her as much as I could, and took occasion, from her ring which she wore on her first finger, to kiss her hand, but had not the face to offer anything more. So at last I left her there and went to my company. About 8 o'clock I went into the church at Scheveling, which was pretty handsome, and in the chancel a very great upper part of the mouth of a whale, which indeed was of a prodigious bigness, bigger than one of our long boats that belong to one of our ships. Commissioner Pett at last came to our lodging, and caused the boats to go off; so some in one boat and some in another we all bid adieu to the shore. But through the badness of weather we were in great danger, and a great while before we could get to the ship. This hath not been known four days together such weather this time of year, a great while. Indeed our fleet was thought to be in great danger, but we found all well. I having spoke a word or two with my Lord, being not very well settled, partly through last night's drinking and want of sleep, I lay down in my gown upon my bed and slept till the 4 o'clock gun the next morning waked me, which I took for 8 at night, and rising mistook the sun rising for the sun setting on Sunday night.

21st. So into my naked bed¹ and slept till 9

¹ *Naked bed.* "A person undressed and in bed was formerly said to be in *naked bed*. The phrase, though a little catachrestical, was universally

o'clock, and then John Goods waked me, and by the captain's boy brought me four barrels of Mallows oysters, which Captain Patnell had sent me from Murlace. The weather foul all this day also. After dinner, about writing one thing or other all day, and setting my papers in order, having been so long absent. At night Mr. Pierce, Purser (the other Pierce and I having not spoken to one another since we fell out about Mr. Edward), and Mr. Cooke sat with me in my cabin and supped with me, and then I went to bed. By letters that came hither in my absence, I understand that the Parliament had ordered all persons to be secured, in order to a trial, that did sit as judges in the late King's death, and all the officers too attending the Court. Sir John Lenthall¹ moving in the

current. It may be observed that, down to a certain period, those who were in bed were literally naked, no night-linen being worn.

‘ Who sees his true love in her *naked bed*,
Teaching the sheets a whiter hue than white.’

SHAKESPEARE, *Venus and Adonis*.

I meet with the expression so late as in the very odd novel by T. Amory, called ‘ John Buncle,’ where a young lady declares, after an alarm, ‘ that she would never go into *naked bed* on board ship again.’ Octavo edition, vol. i. p. 90.” — NARES, *Glossary*. (M. B.)

¹ Sir John Lenthall, who survived till 1681, was the only son of Speaker Lenthall, and Cromwell's Governor of Windsor Castle. He had been knighted by the Protector in 1657; but is styled “ Mr. Lenthall ” in the “ Commons' Journals of the House,” 12th May, 1660, where the proceedings alluded to by Pepys are fully detailed. Mrs. Hutchinson also gives an account of them in her “ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson,” p. 367, 4to. edit. On the 22nd of May following, Lenthall lost his seat for Abingdon, the double return for that borough having been decided in favour of Sir John Stonehouse; probably the then recent offence which Lenthall had given to the House of Commons had more influence in the adverse issue of the petition than the actual merits of

House, that all that had borne arms against the King should be exempted from pardon, he was called to the bar of the House, and after a severe reproof he was degraded his knighthood. At Court I find that all things grow high. The old clergy talk as being sure of their lands again, and laugh at the Presbytery ; and it is believed that the sales of the King's and Bishops' lands will never be confirmed by Parliament, there being nothing now in any man's power to hinder them and the King from doing what they have a mind, but every body willing to submit to any thing. We expect every day to have the King and Duke on board as soon as it is fair. My Lord do nothing now, but offers all things to the pleasure of the Duke as Lord High Admiral. So that I am at a loss what to do.

22nd. Up very early, and now beginning to be settled in my wits again, I went about setting down my last four days' observations this morning. After that, was trimmed by a barber that has not trimmed me yet, my Spaniard being on shore. News brought that the two Dukes are coming on board, which, by and by, they did, in a Dutch boat, the Duke of York in yellow trimmings, the Duke of Gloucester in grey and red. My Lord went in a boat to meet them, the Captain, myself, and others, standing at the entering port. So soon as they were entered we shot the guns off round the fleet. After that they went to view the ship all over, and were most exceedingly pleased with it.

the case. Sir John Lenthall, of whom Pepys speaks, Aug. 10, 1663, was the brother to the Speaker. See that passage.

They seem to be both very fine gentlemen. After that done, upon the quarter-deck table, under the awning, the Duke of York and my Lord, Mr. Coventry,¹ and I, spent an hour at allotting to every ship their service, in their return to England ; which having done, they went to dinner, where the table was very full : the two Dukes at the upper end, my Lord Opdam next on one side, and my Lord on the other. Two guns given to every man while he was drinking the King's health, and so likewise to the Duke's health. I took down Monsieur d'Esquier to the great cabin below, and dined with him in state alone with only one or two friends of his. All dinner the harper belonging to Captain Sparling played to the Dukes. After dinner, the Dukes and my Lord to see the Vice and Rear-Admirals, and I in a boat after them. After that done, they made to the shore in the Dutch boat that brought them, and I got into the boat with them ; but the shore was so full of people to expect their coming, as that it was as black (which otherwise is

¹ Sir William Coventry, to whom Mr. Pepys became so warmly attached afterwards, was the youngest son of Thomas first Lord Coventry, and Lord Keeper. He entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1642 ; and on his return from his travels was made Secretary to the Duke of York, and elected M. P. for Yarmouth. In 1662 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty ; in 1665 knighted and sworn a Privy Counsellor ; and in 1667 constituted a Commissioner of the Treasury, but having been forbid the Court, on account of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, he retired into the country, nor could he subsequently be prevailed upon to accept of any official employment. Burnet calls Sir W. C. the best speaker in the House of Commons, and a man of great notions and eminent virtues ; and Mr. Pepys never omits an opportunity of paying a tribute to his public and private worth. Ob. 1686, aged 60.

white sand), as every one could stand by another. When we came near the shore, my Lord left them and came into his own boat, and General Pen and I with him ; my Lord being very well pleased with this day's work. By the time we came on board again, news is sent us that the King is on shore ; so my Lord fired all his guns round twice, and all the fleet after him, which in the end fell into disorder,¹ which seemed very handsome. The gun over against my cabin I fired myself to the King, which was the first time that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change ; but holding my head too much over the gun, I had almost spoiled my right eye. Nothing in the world but going of guns almost all this day. In the evening we began to remove cabins ; I to the carpenter's cabin, and Dr. Clerke with me, who came on board this afternoon, having been twice ducked in the sea to-day coming from shore, and Mr. North and John Pickering the like. Many of the King's servants came on board to-night ; and so many Dutch of all sorts came to see the ship till it was quite dark, that we could not pass by one another, which was a great trouble to us all. This afternoon Mr. Downing (who was knighted yesterday by the King) was here on board, and had a ship for his passage into England, with his lady and servants. By the same token he called me to him when I was going to write the order, to tell me that I must write him Sir G. Downing. My

¹ See 23rd May. (M. B.)

Lord lay in the roundhouse to-night. This evening I was late writing a French letter by my Lord's order to Monsieur Kragh, Embassador de Denmarke à la Haye, which my Lord signed in bed. After that I to bed, and the Doctor and I sleep well.

23rd. The Doctor and I waked very merry, only my eye was very red and ill in the morning from yesterday's hurt. In the morning came infinity of people on board from the King to go along with him. My Lord, Mr. Crew, and others, go on shore to meet the King as he comes off from shore, where Sir R. Stayner bringing His Majesty into the boat, I hear that His Majesty did with a great deal of affection kiss my Lord upon his first meeting. The King, with the two Dukes and Queen of Bohemia, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, came on board, where I in their coming in kissed the King's, Queen's, and Princesse's hands, having done the other before. Infinite shooting off of the guns, and that in a disorder on purpose, which was better than if it had been otherwise. All day nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceeding full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royale company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. I dined with Dr. Clerke, Dr. Quarterman, and Mr. Davey in my cabin. This morning Mr. Lucy came on board, to whom and his company of the King's Guard in another ship my Lord did give three dozen of bottles of wine. He made friends between Mr. Pierce and me. After dinner the King and Duke altered the name

of some of the ships, viz. the Nazeby into Charles ;¹ the Richard, James ; the Speaker, Mary ; the Dunbar (which was not in company with us), the Henry ; Winsly, Happy Return ; Wakefield, Richmond ; Lambert, the Henrietta ; Cheriton, the Speedwell ; Bradford, the Successe.² That done, the Queen, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Swiftsure. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet, that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private ; when

¹ "The Naseby now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles his name."

DRYDEN, *Astræa Redux*.

² See in the Appendix a list of the fleet and the commanders' names.

at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the King's health, and said that the King was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know him not to be a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the King was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down and kissed his hand, privately, saying, that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulty of getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the foreman and a boy (which was all his ship's company), and so got to Fecamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other. In the evening I went up to my Lord to write letters for England, which we sent away with word of our coming, by Mr. Edw. Pickering. The King supped alone in the coach ; after that I got a dish, and we four supped in my cabin, as at noon. About bed-time my Lord Bartlett¹ (who I had offered my service to before) sent for me to get him a bed, who with much ado I did get to bed to my Lord Middlesex² in the great

¹ A mistake for Lord Berkeley, who had been deputed with Lord Middlesex and four other Peers by the House of Lords, to present an address of congratulation to the King.

² Lionel, third and last Earl of Middlesex. Ob. 1674.

cabin below, but I was cruelly troubled before I could dispose of him, and quit myself of him. So to my cabin again, where the company still was, and were talking more of the King's difficulties; as how he was fain to eat a piece of bread and cheese out of a poor boy's pocket; how, at a Catholique house, he was fain to lie in the priest's hole a good while in the house for his privacy. After that our company broke up. We have all the Lords Commissioners on board us, and many others. Under sail all night, and most glorious weather.

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the linning stockings on and wide canons¹ that I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle² and Mr. Hollis, the King's Chaplins, Dr. Scarborough,³ Dr. Quarterman,⁴ and Dr. Clerke, Physicians, Mr. Darcy,⁵

¹ Canons, canions or cannions. Thus defined in *Kersey's Dictionary*: "Cannions, boot hose tops; an old-fashioned ornament for the legs." That is to say, a particular addition to breeches. *Coles* says, "Cannions, Perizomata." *Cotgrave*, "Canons de chausses." *Minshew* says, "On les appelle ainsi pourceque, &c., because they are like cannions of artillery, or cans, or pots." — NARES, *Glossary*. (M. B.)

² John Earle, Dean of Westminster, successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. Ob. 1665.

³ Charles Scarborough, M.D., principal Physician to Charles II. (by whom he was knighted in 1669), James II., and William III., a learned and incomparable anatomist.

⁴ William Quarterman, M.D. of Pembroke College, Oxford.

⁵ Marmaduke, fifth son of Conyers, Lord Darcy, one of the companions of Charles's exile, whom the King was wont to call '*Duke Darcy*'; and he is so styled in Charles's narrative of his escape, as given to Pepys, page 4. On the pavement in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, is the

and Mr. Fox¹ (both very fine gentlemen), the King's servants, where we had brave discourse. Walking upon the decks, where persons of honour all the afternoon, among others, Thomas Killigrew² (a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the King), who told us many merry stories : one, how he wrote a letter three or four days ago to the Princess Royal, about a Queen Dowager of Judæa and Palestine, that was at the Hague *incognita*, that made love to the King, &c., which was Mr. Cary (a courtier's) wife that had been a nun, who are all married to Jesus. At supper the three Drs. of Physique again at my cabin ; where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I heard him say about the use of the eyes, which he owned, that children do, in every day's experience, look several ways with both their eyes, till custom teaches them otherwise. And that we do now see but with one eye, our eyes looking in parallel lynes. After this discourse I was called to write a pass for my Lord Mandeville³ to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the

following inscription : — " Here lyeth the body of the Honourable Marmaduke Darcy, Esq., brother to the Earl of Holderness, first gentleman usher of the privy-chamber to His Majesty, who died in this castle on Sunday, the 3d of July, in the seventy-third year of his age, A.D. 1687." — POTE'S *History of Windsor*, p. 365.

¹ Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox, Knight, Paymaster to the Forces.

² Thomas Killigrew, younger son to Sir Robert Killigrew, of Hanworth, Middlesex, Page of Honour to Charles I., and Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II., whose fortunes he had followed. He was Resident at Venice, 1651; a great favourite with the King on account of his uncommon vein of humour, and author of several plays. Ob. 1682.

³ Eldest son of the Earl of Manchester.

King's name,¹ and carried it to him to sign, which was the first and only one that ever he signed in the ship Charles. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and every body made ready to get on shore. The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet before them, only to show them the manner of the ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. I had Mr. Darcy in my cabin and Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given 50*l.* to Mr. Shepley for my Lord's servants, and 500*l.* among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke with the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my Lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our Captain steered, and my Lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, with a dog that the King loved, (which dirted the boat, which made us laugh, and me think that a King and all that belong to him are but just as others are), in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received

¹ This right of purveyance was abolished in Charles's reign.

by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the towne came and gave him his white staffe, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the towne a very rich Bible, which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the towne towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. Seeing that my Lord did not stir out of his barge, I got into a boat, and so into his barge, and spoke a word or two to my Lord, and so returned back to the ship, and going did see a man almost drowned that fell out of his boat into the sea, but with much ado was got out. My Lord almost transported with joy that he had done all this without any the least blur or obstruction in the world, that could give an offence to any, and with the great honour he thought it would be to him. Being overtook by the brigantine, my Lord and we went out of our barge into it, and so went on board with Sir W. Batten,¹ and the Vice and Rear-Admirals. At night

¹ Clarendon describes William Batten as an obscure fellow, and, although unknown to the service, a good seaman, who was in 1642 made Surveyor to the Navy, in which employ he evinced great animosity against the King. The

I supped with the Captn., who told me what the King had given us. My Lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the marke to be gilded, and a Crowne and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King to-day with his own hand did marke his height, which accordingly I caused the painter to do, and is now done as is to be seen.

26th. Mr. North and Dr. Clerke and all the great company being gone, I found myself very uncouth all this day for want thereof. My Lord dined with the Vice-Admiral to-day (who is as officious, poor man ! as any spaniel can be ; but I believe all to no purpose, for I believe he will not hold his place), so I dined commander at the coach table to-day, and all the officers of the ship with me, and Mr. White of Dover. After a game or two at nine-pins, to work all the afternoon, making above twenty orders. In

following year, while Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, he chased a Dutch man-of-war into Burlington Bay, knowing that Queen Henrietta Maria was on board ; and then, learning that she had landed and was lodged on the quay, he fired above a hundred shot upon the house, some of which passing through her majesty's chamber, she was obliged, though indisposed, to retire for safety into the open fields. This act, brutal as it was, found favour with the parliament. But Batten became afterwards discontented, and, when a portion of the fleet revolted, he carried the "Constant Warwick," one of the best ships in the Parliament navy, over into Holland, with several seamen of note. For this act of treachery he was knighted and made a Rear-Admiral by Prince Charles. We hear no more of Batten till the Restoration, when he became a Commissioner of the Navy, and was soon after M.P. for Rochester. See an account of his second wife in note to Nov. 24, 1660, and of his illness and death, 5th October, 1667. He had a son, Benjamin, and a daughter, Martha, by his first lady.

the evening my Lord having been a-shore, the first time that he hath been a-shore since he came out of the Hope (having resolved not to go till he had brought his Majesty into England), returned on board with a great deal of pleasure. The Captain told me that my Lord had appointed me 30*l.* out of the 1000 ducats which the King had given to the ship, at which my heart was very much joyed. To bed.

27th (Lord's day). Called up by John Goods to see the Garter and Heralds coate, which lay in the coach, brought by Sir Edward Walker, King at Armes, this morning, for my Lord. My Lord had summoned all the Commanders on board him, to see the ceremony, which was thus: Sir Edward putting on his coate, and having laid the George and Garter, and the King's letter to my Lord, upon a crimson cushion (in the coach, all the Commanders standing by), makes three congees to him, holding the cushion in his arms. Then laying it down with the things upon it upon a chair, he takes the letter, and delivers it to my Lord, which my Lord breaks open and gives him to read. It was directed to our trusty and well beloved Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, one of our Generals at sea, and our Companion elect of our Noble Order of the Garter. The contents of the letter is to show that the Kings of England have for many years made use of this honour, as a special mark of favour, to persons of good extraction and virtue (and that many Emperors, Kings and Princes of other countries have borne this honour), and that

whereas my Lord is of a noble family, and hath now done the King such service by sea, at this time, as he hath done; he do send him this George and Garter to wear as Knight of the Order, with a dispensation for the other ceremonies of the habit of the Order, and other things, till hereafter, when it can be done. So the herald putting the ribbon about his neck, and the Garter on his left leg, he saluted him with joy as Knight of the Garter, and that was all. After that was done he took his leave of my Lord, and so to shore again to the King at Canterbury, where he yesterday gave the like honour to General Monk,¹ who are the only two for many years that have had the Garter given them, before they had other honours of Earldome, or the like, excepting only the Duke of Buckingham, who was only Sir George Villiers when he was made Knight of the Garter.² A while after Mr. Thos. Crew and Mr. J. Pickering, who had staid long enough to make all the world see him to be a fool, took ship for London. So there now remain no strangers with my Lord but Mr. Hetley, who had been with us a day before the King went from us. My Lord and the ship's company down to sermon. I staid above to write and look over my new song book, which came last night to me from London in lieu of that that my Lord had of me.

¹ His Majesty put the George on his Excellency, and the two Dukes put on the Garter. The Princes thus honoured the Lord-General for the restoration of that lawful family. — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

² A. D. 1616.

The officers being all on board, there was not room for me at table, so I dined in my cabin, where, among other things, Mr. Drum brought me a lobster and a bottle of oil, instead of a bottle of vinegar, whereby I spoiled my dinner. Many orders in the ordering of ships this afternoon. Late to a sermon. After that up to the Lieutenant's cabin, where Mr. Shepley, I, and the Minister supped, and after that I went down to W. Howe's cabin, and there, with a great deal of pleasure, singing till it was late. After that to bed.

28th. Called up at two in the morning for letters for my Lord from the Duke of York. This morning the Captain did call over all the men in the ship (not the boys), and give every one of them a ducat of the King's money that he gave the ship, and the officers according to their quality. I received in the Captain's cabin, for my share, sixty ducats. The rest of the morning busy writing letters. So was my Lord that he would not come to dinner. A great part of the afternoon at nine-pins with my Lord and Mr. Hetley. I lost about 4s. Supped with my Lord, and after that to bed.

29th. The King's birthday. Busy all the morning writing letters to London, among the rest one to Mr. Chetwind to give me an account of the fees due to the Herald for the Order of the Garter, which my Lord desires to know. After dinner got all ready and sent away Mr. Cooke to London with a letter and token to my wife. After that abroad to shore with my Lord (which he offered me of himself, saying that I had a

great deal of work to do this month, which was very true). On shore we took horses, my Lord and Mr. Edward, Mr. Hetly and I, and three or four servants, and had a great deal of pleasure in riding. Among other things my Lord showed me a house that cost a great deal of money, and is built in so barren and inconvenient a place that my Lord calls it the fool's house. At last we came upon a very high cliffe by the sea-side, and rode under it, we having laid great wagers, I and Dr. Mathews, that it was not so high as Paul's; my Lord and Mr. Hetly, that it was. But we riding under it, my Lord made a pretty good measure of it with two sticks, and found it to be not above thirty-five yards high, and Paul's is reckoned to be about ninety. From thence toward the barge again, and in our way found the people at Deale going to make a bonfire for joy of the day, it being the King's birthday, and had some guns which they did fire at my Lord's coming by. For which I did give twenty shillings among them to drink. While we were on the top of the cliffe, we saw and heard our guns in the fleet go off for the same joy. And it being a pretty fair day we could see above twenty miles into France. Being returned on board, my Lord called for Mr. Shepley's book of Paul's by which we were confirmed in our wager. After that to supper and then to musique, and so to bed. This day, it is thought, the King do enter the City of London.¹

¹ "Divers maidens, in behalf of themselves and others, presented a petition to the Lord Mayor of London, wherein they pray his Lordship to grant

30th. About eight o'clock in the morning the lieutenant came to me to know whether I would eat a dish of mackerel, newly caught, for my breakfast, which the Captain and we did in the coach. All this morning making up my accounts, in which I counted that I had made myself now worth about 80*l.*, at which my heart was glad, and blessed God. Many Dover men come and dine with my Lord. My Lord at nine-pins in the afternoon. Mr. Shepley told me how my Lord had put me down for 70 guilders among the money which was given to my Lord's servants, which my heart did much rejoice at. Sir R. Stayner supped with us, and among other things told us how some of his men did grumble that no more of the Duke's money come to their share and so would not receive any; whereupon he called up those that had taken it, and gives them three shares apiece more, which was very good, and made good sport among the seamen. To bed.

31st. All the morning making orders. After dinner a great while below in the great cabin trying with W. Howe some of Mr. Law's songs, particularly that of "What is a kiss," with which we had a great deal of pleasure. After that to making of orders again. Captain Sparling¹ of the Assistance brought me a pair

them leave and liberty to meet his Majesty on the day of his passing through the City; and if their petition be granted, that they will all be clad in white waistcoats and crimson petticoats, and other ornaments of triumph and rejoicing." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*, May, 1660.

¹ Thomas Sparling.

of silk stockings of a light blue, which I was much pleased with. This day the month ends, I in very good health, and all the world in a merry mood because of the King's coming. This day I began to teach Mr. Edward,¹ who I find to have a very good foundation laid for his Latin by Mr. Fuller.

June 1st. This morning Mr. Shepley disposed of the money that the Duke of York did give my Lord's servants, 22 ducatoons came to my share. I did give Mr. Shepley the fine pair of buckskin gloves that I bought for myself about five years ago. After dinner Captain Jeffery and W. Howe, and the Lieutenant and I to ninepins, where I lost about two shillings and so fooled away all the afternoon. At night Mr. Cooke comes from London with letters, leaving all things there very gallant and joyful. And brought us word that the Parliament had ordered the 29th of May, the King's birthday, to be for ever kept as a day of thanksgiving for our redemption from tyranny, and the King's return to his Government, he entering London that day. My poor wife has not been well, but thanks be to God is well again. She would fain see me and be at her house again, but we must be content. She writes word how the Joyces grow very rich and proud, but it is no matter, and that there was a talk that I should be knighted by the King, which they (the Joyces) laugh at; but I think myself happier in my wife and estate than they are in theirs. The Cap-

¹ Little Edward Montagu.

tain come on board, when I was going to bed, quite fuddled ; the Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and he had been drinking all day.

2d. Being with my Lord in the morning about business in his cabin, I took occasion to give him thanks for his love to me in the share that he had given me of his Majesty's money, and the Duke's. He told me he hoped to do me a more lasting kindness, if all things stand as they are now between him and the King, but, says he, "We must have a little patience and we will rise together ; in the mean time I will do you all the good jobs I can." Which was great content for me to hear from my Lord. All the morning with the Captain, computing how much the thirty ships that come with the King from Scheveling their pay comes to for a month (because the King promised to give them all a month's pay), and it comes to 6,538*l.*, and the Charles particularly 777*l.* I wish we had the money. All the afternoon with two or three captains in the Captain's cabin, drinking of white wine and sugar, and eating pickled oysters, where Captain Sparling told us the best story that ever I heard, about a gentleman that persuaded a country fool to let him gut his oysters or else they would stink. At night writing letters to London and Weymouth, for my Lord being now to sit in the House of Peers he endeavours to get Mr. Edward Montague for Weymouth and Mr. George for Dover.

3d. Captain Holland is come to get an order for the setting out of his ship, and to renew his commis-

sion. He tells me how every man goes to the Lord Mayor to set down their names, as such as do accept of his Majesty's pardon, and showed me a certificate under the Lord Mayor's hand that he had done so.

At sermon in the morning; after dinner into my cabin, to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near 100*l.* for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being I believe not clearly worth 25*l.* when I came to sea besides my house and goods.

4th. Waked in the morning at four o'clock to give some money to Mr. Hetley, who was to go to London with the letters that I wrote yesterday night. After he was gone I went and lay down in my gown upon my bed again an hour or two. At last waked by a messenger come for a Post Warrant for Mr. Hetley and Mr. Creed, who stood to give so little for their horses that the men would not let them have any without a warrant, which I sent them. All the morning getting Captain Holland's commission done, which I did, and he at noon went away. I took my leave of him upon the quarter-deck with a bottle of sack, my Lord being just set down to dinner. In the evening I made an order for Captain Sparling of the Assistance to go to Middleburgh, to fetch over some of the King's goods. I took the opportunity to send all my Dutch money, 70 ducatoons and 29 gold ducats to be changed, if he can, for English money, which is the first venture that ever I made, and so I have been since a little afeard of it. This morning the King's

Proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery, was read to our ships' companies in the fleet, and indeed it gives great satisfaction to all.

5th. A-bed late. In the morning my Lord went on shore with the Vice-Admiral a-fishing, and at dinner returned. In the afternoon I played at nine-pins with my Lord, and when he went in again I got him to sign my accounts for 115*l.*, and so upon my private balance I find myself confirmed in my estimation that I am worth 100*l.* In the evening in my cabin a great while getting the song without book, "Help, helpe Divinity, &c." After supper my Lord called for the lieutenant's cittern,¹ and with two candlesticks with money in them for symballs,² we made barber's musique,³ with which my Lord was well pleased. So to bed.

6th. In the morning I had letters come, that told me among other things, that my Lord's place of Clerke of the Signet was fallen to him, which he did most lovingly tell me that I should execute, in case he could not get a better employment for me at the end of the year. Because he thought that the Duke of York would command all, but he hoped that the Duke would not remove me but to my advantage.

¹ *Cittern*, a musical instrument like a guitar. (M. B.)

² *Symballs*, *i. e.* cymbals. (M. B.)

³ In the "Notices of Popular Histories," printed for the Percy Society, there is a curious woodcut, representing the interior of a barber's shop, in which, according to the old custom, the person waiting to be shaved is playing on the "ghittern" till his turn arrives. Decker also mentions a "barber's cittern," for every serving-man to play upon. This is no doubt "The barber's music" with which Lord Sandwich entertained himself.

My letters tell me, that Mr. Calamy¹ had preached before the King in a surplice (this I heard afterwards to be false) ; that my Lord, Gen. Monk, and three more Lords, are made Commissioners for the Treasury ; that my Lord had some great place conferred on him, and they say Master of the Wardrobe ; that the two Dukes do haunt the Park much, and that they were at a play, *Madam Epicene*,² the other day ; that Sir Ant. Cooper,³ Mr. Hollis,⁴ and Mr. Annesly,⁵ late President of the Council of State, are made Privy Councillors to the King. At night very busy sending Mr. Donne away to London, and wrote to my father for a coat to be made me against I come to London, which I think will not be long. I to bed and about one in the morning,

7th. W. Howe called me up to give him a letter to carry to my Lord that came to me to-day, which I did and so to sleep again. About three in the morning the people began to wash the deck, and the water came pouring into my mouth, which waked me, and I was fain to rise and get on my gown, and sleep leaning on my table. After dinner come Mr. John Wright and Mr. Moore, with the sight of whom my heart was very glad. They brought an order for my Lord's coming up to London, which my Lord resolved to

¹ Edward Calamy, the celebrated Nonconformist Divine, born 1616, appointed Chaplain to Charles the Second 1660. Ob. 1666.

² *Epicene*, or the Silent Woman, a Comedy, by Ben Jonson.

³ Afterwards Chancellor, and created Earl of Shaftesbury.

⁴ Afterwards Lord Hollis.

⁵ Afterwards Earl of Anglesey.

do to-morrow. All the afternoon getting my things in order to set forth to-morrow. At night walked up and down with Mr. Moore, who did give me an account of all things at London. Among others, how the Presbyterians would be angry if they durst, but they will not be able to do any thing. Most of the Commanders on board and supped with my Lord.

8th. Out early, took horses at Deale. I troubled much with the King's gittar, and Fairbrother, the rogue that I intrusted with the carrying of it on foot, whom I thought I had lost. Came to Canterbury, dined there. I saw the minster and the remains of Becket's tomb. Col. Dixwell's horse taken by a soldier and delivered to my Lord, and by him to me to carry to London. To Sittingborne and Rochester. At Chatham and Rochester the ships and bridge. Mr. Hetley's mistake about dinner. Come to Gravesend. A good handsome wench I kissed, the first that I have seen a great while. Supped with my Lord, drank late below with Penrose, the Captain. To bed late, having first laid out all my things against to-morrow to put myself in a walking garb. Weary and hot to bed to Mr. Moore.

9th. Up betimes, 25s. the reckoning. Paid the house and by boats to London, six boats. Mr. Moore, W. Howe, and I, and then the child in the room of W. Howe. Landed at the Temple. To Mr. Crew's. To my father's and put myself into a handsome posture to wait upon my Lord. To White

Hall with my Lord and Mr. Edwd. Montagu. Found the King in the Park. There walked. Gallantly great.

10th (Lord's day). At my father's found my wife and to walk with her in Lincoln's Inn walks.

11th. Betimes to my Lord. Extremely much people and business. So with him to Whitehall to the Duke. Back with him by coach and left him in Covent Garden. I back to Will's and the Hall to see my father. Then to the Leg in King Street with Mr. Moore, and sent for Mons. L'Impertinent to dinner with me. After that with my Lord to Dorset House¹ to the Chancellor.

12th. Visited by the two Pierces, &c., and did give them a ham of bacon, and so to my Lord and with him to the Duke of Gloucester. The two Dukes dined with the Speaker, and I saw there a fine entertainment and dined with the pages. To my Lord's and staid till 12 at night about business.

13th. To my Lord's and thence to the Treasurer of the Navy. So to Mr. Crew's, where I blotted a new carpet that was hired, but got it out again with fair water. By water with my Lord in a boat to Westminster, and to the Admiralty, now in a new place. After business done then to the Rhenish wine-house with Mr. Blackburne, Creed and Wivell.

¹ Dorset-House, in Salisbury Court, at this time occupied by the Chancellor, once the residence of the Bishops of Salisbury, one of whom (Jewel) alienated it to the Sackville family. The house being afterwards pulled down, a theatre was built on its site, in which the Duke of York's troop performed.

14th. Up to my Lord and from him to the Treasurer of the Navy for 500*l*. To my Lady Pickering with the plate she did give my Lord the other day. Then to Will's and met William Symons and Doling and Luellin, and with them to the Bullhead.

15th. My Lord told me how the King has given him the place of the great wardrobe.¹

16th. To my Lord, and so to White Hall with him about the Clerk of the Privy Seale's place, which he is to have. Then to the Admiralty, where I wrote some letters. Here Coll. Thompson told me, as a great secret, that the Nazeby was on fire when the King was there, but that is not known; when God knows it is quite false. Got a piece of gold from Major Holmes² for the horse of Dixwell's I brought to town. Dined at Mr. Crew's, and after dinner with my Lord to Whitehall. Court attendance infinite tedious. After that at night home to my father's and to bed.

17th (Lord's day). To Mr. Mossum's; a good sermon. This day the organs did begin to play at White Hall before the King. Dined at my father's. After dinner to Mr. Mossum's again, and so in the garden, and heard Chippell's father preach, that was Page to the Protector, and just by the window that I stood at sat Mrs. Butler,³ the great beauty. After

¹ With an official residence, often referred to by Pepys.

² Afterwards Sir Robert Holmes. He is styled "Major," although in the Navy. Thus, Lord Sandwich and Sir W. Penn were called "Generals:" see also Jan. 6, 1661-62.

³ See 25th July, 1660.

sermon to my Lord. Mr. Edward and I into Gray's Inn walks and saw many beauties.

18th. To my Lord's, where much business and some hopes of getting some money thereby. With him to the Parliament House, where he did intend to have made his appearance to-day, but he met Mr. Crew upon the stairs, and would not go in. He went to Mrs. Brown's, and staid till word was brought him what was done in the House. This day they made an end of the twenty men to be excepted from pardon to their estates. By barge to Stepny with my Lord, where at Trinity House we had great entertainment. With my Lord there went Sir W. Pen, Sir H. Wright, Hetly, Pierce, Creed,¹ Hill, I and other servants. Back again to the Admiralty, and so to my Lord's lodgings, where he told me that he did look after the place of the Clerk of the Acts for me. This evening my wife's brother, Balty, came to me to let me know

¹ John Creed of Oundle, Esq. From the way in which Pepys speaks of his friend, he was probably of humble origin, and nothing is known of his history previously to the Restoration, when he seems to have been a retainer in the service of Sir Edward Montagu. In 1662 he was made Secretary to the Commissioners for Tangier, and in 1668 he married Elizabeth Pickering, the niece of his original patron, by whom he had eleven children. Major Richard Creed, the eldest son, who was killed at the battle of Blenheim, lies buried in Tichmarsh Church in Northamptonshire, where there is also a monument erected to his father, describing him as "of Oundle," and as having served King Charles the Second in divers honourable employments at home and abroad, lived with honour, and died lamented, A.D. 1701. What these employments were cannot now be ascertained. There exists still a cenotaph to the memory of the major in Westminster Abbey. Mrs. Creed, wife of John Creed of Oundle, Esq., was the only daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart., by Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Edward Montagu, and sister of Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich. See Malone's "*Life of Dryden*," p. 339.

his bad condition and to get a place for him, but I perceive he stands upon a place for a gentleman, that may not stain his family when, God help him, he wants bread.

19th. Called on betimes by Murford, who showed me five pieces to get a business done for him and I am resolved to do it. Much business at my Lord's. This morning my Lord went into the House of Commons, and there had the thanks of the House, in the name of the Parliament and Commons of England, for his late service to his King and Country. A motion was made for a reward for him, but it was quashed by Mr. Annesly, who, above most men, is engaged to my Lord's and Mr. Crew's families. Towards my Lord's, but was met with by a servant of my Lady Pickering, who took me to her and she told me the story of her husband's case and desired my assistance with my Lord, and did give me, wrapped up in paper, 5*l.* in silver. After that to my Lord's, and with him to Whitehall and my Lady Pickering. My Lord went at night with the King to Baynard's Castle to supper, and I home to my father's to bed. My wife and the girle and dog came home to-day. When I came home I found a quantity of chocolate left for me, I know not from whom.

20th. Up by 4 in the morning to write letters to sea and a commission for him that Murford solicited for. Called on by Captain Sparling who did give me my Dutch money again, and so much as he had changed into English money, by which my mind was

eased of a great deal of trouble. Some other sea captains. I did give them a good morning draft and so to my Lord (who lay long in bed this day, because he came home late from supper with the King), with my Lord to the Parliament House, and, after that, with him to General Monk's, where he dined at the Cock-pit. I home and dined with my wife, now making all things ready there again. Thence to the Admiralty, and despatched away Mr. Cooke to sea; whose business was a letter from my Lord about Mr. G. Montagu to be chosen as a Parliament-man in my Lord's room at Dover; and another to the Vice-Admiral to give my Lord a constant account of all things in the fleet, merely that he may thereby keep up his power there; another letter to Captn. Cuttance to send the barge that brought the King on shore, to Hinchinbroke by Lynne.¹

21st. To my Lord, much business. With him to the Council Chamber, where he was sworne; and the charge of his being admitted Privy Counsellor is 26*l*. To the Dog Taverne, where Captain Curle, late of the *Maria*, gave me five pieces in gold and a silver can for my wife for the Commission I did give him this day for his ship, dated April 20, 1660. Thence to the Parliament door and came to Mr. Crew's to dinner with my Lord, and with my Lord to see the great Wardrobe, where Mr. Townsend brought us to the governor of some poor children in tawny clothes, who

¹ Whence it could go by water-carriage: see note to Jan. 31, 1660-61.

had been maintained there these eleven years, which put my Lord to a stand how to dispose of them, that he may have the house for his use. The children did sing finely, and my Lord did bid me give them five pieces in gold at his going away. Thence back to White Hall, where, the King being gone abroad, my Lord and I walked a great while discoursing of the simplicity of the Protector, in his losing all that his father had left him. My Lord told me, that the last words that he parted with the Protector with (when he went to the Sound), were, that he should rejoice more to see him in his grave at his return home, than that he should give way to such things as were then in hatching, and afterwards did ruine him: and the Protector said, that whatever G. Montagu, my Lord Broghill,¹ Jones, and the Secretary, would have him to do, he would do it, be it what it would. Thence to my wife, meeting Mr. Blagrove, who went home with me, and did give me a lesson upon the flageolette, and hand-selled² my silver can with my wife and me. To my father's, where Sir Thomas Honeywood and his family were come of a sudden, and so we forced to lie all together in a little chamber, three stories high.

22d. To my Lord, where much business. With him to White Hall, where the Duke of York not being up, we walked a good while in the Shield Gallery.

¹ Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery, 1660. Ob. 1679.

² *Handsel*, German, *der handſtauf*; *der erſte gebrauch eines binges*. An old German dictionary translates "I will hansel this cup," *Ich will zum erſten maßle auß dieſem becher trinden*. (M. B.)

Mr. Hill (who for these two or three days hath constantly attended my Lord) told me of an offer of 500*l.* for a Baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of in the balcone of this gallery, and he said he would think of it. I to my Lord's and gave order for horses to be got to draw my Lord's great coach to Mr. Crew's. My dear friend Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun Tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's, in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another. Thence to my Lord's, and had the great coach to Brigham's, who went with me to the Half Moone, and gave me a can of good julep, and told me how my Lady Monk deals with him and others for their places, asking him 500*l.*, though he was formerly the King's coach-maker, and sworn to it. Thence called at my father's, and so to Mr. Crew's, where Mr. Hetley had sent a letter for me, and two pair of silk stockings, one for W. Howe, and the other for me, and so by link home about 11 o'clock. So to bed.

23d. To my Lord's lodgings, where Tom Guy came to me, and there staid to see the King touch people for the King's evil.¹ But he did not come at all, it

¹ This ceremony is of great antiquity in England; perhaps it may be traced to Edward the Confessor. Sir John Fortescue, in his defence of the House of Lancaster against that of York, argued that the crown could not descend to a female, because the Queen is not qualified by the form of anointing her, used at the coronation, to cure the disease called the king's evil. Burns asserts, "*History of Parish Registers*," p. 144, "that between 1660 and 1682, 92,107 persons were touched for the evil. Every one coming to the

rayned so ; and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the banquetting-house. With my Lord, to my Lord Frezendorfe's¹ where he dined to-day. He told me that he had obtained a promise of

court for that purpose brought a certificate signed by the minister and churchwardens, that he had not at any time been touched by His Majesty. The registers of Camberwell and other parishes contain the names of those to whom certificates had been given. In the time of Charles II. the practice was at its height (Evelyn's "Diary," March 28, 1684). On Nov. 5, 1688, Evelyn also states, that he saw King James touch for the evil, Pitan the Jesuit and Warner officiating. This was no doubt the last time he performed the ceremony in England. In the first four years after his restoration he "touched" nearly 24,000 people. The ceremony was continued during the reigns of his successors ; and so late as Lent, 1712, we find Dr. Johnson (Boswell's "Life," vol. i. p. 16) amongst the number of persons actually touched by Queen Anne. The practice was supposed to have expired with the Stuarts, but the point being disputed, reference was made to the library of the Duke of Sussex, and four several Oxford editions of the Book of Common Prayer were found, all printed after the accession of the House of Hanover, and all containing, as an integral part of the service, "The Office for the Healing." Subsequently to the execution of Charles I., handkerchiefs dipped in his blood were believed to possess the virtue of healing, of which an instance is related in Churchill's "Divi Britannici," p. 9 ; and very recently a pilgrimage was made from a distant part to Ashburnham in Sussex, in the hope of cure from the "touch" of the sheet in which the King's body was wrapped, and which, with the King's watch, is in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, the lineal descendent of John Ashburnham, his friend and faithful servant. The stamp of gold with which the King crossed the sore of the sick person was called an angel, and of the value of ten shillings. It had a hole bored through it, through which a ribbon was drawn, and the angel was hanged about the patient's neck till the cure was perfected. — *GENEST'S Hist. of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 143, *ubi plura*. The stamp has the impression of St. Michael the Archangel on one side, and a ship in full sail on the other. "My Lord Anglesey had a daughter cured of the King's evil with three others on Tuesday." — *MS. letter of William Greenhill to Lady Bacon*, dated December 31, 1629, preserved at Audley End.

¹ John Frederic de Friesendorff, Ambassador from Sweden to Charles the Second, who created him a Baronet, 1661.

the Clerke of the Acts place for me, at which I was glad. Met with Mr. Chetwind, and dined with him at Hargrave's, the Corn-chandler, in St. Martin's Lane, where a good dinner, where he showed me some good pictures, and an instrument he called an Angelique. With him to London, changing all my Dutch money at Backwell's for English, and then to Cardinal's Cap, where he and the City Remembrancer who paid for all. Back to Westminster, where my Lord was, and discoursed with him awhile about his family affairs. So home and to bed.

24th. Sunday. Drank my morning draft at Harper's, and bought a pair of gloves there. So to Mr. G. Montagu, and told him what I had received from Dover, about his business likely to be chosen there. In the afternoon to Mr. Messum's with Mr. Moore, and we sat in Mr. Butler's pew.

25th. With my Lord at White Hall all the morning. I spoke with Mr. Coventry about my business, who promised me all the assistance I could expect. Dined with young Mr. Powell, lately come from the Sound, being amused at our great changes here, and Mr. Southerne, now Clerke to Mr. Coventry, at the Leg in King-street. Thence to the Admiralty, where I met Mr. Turner, of the Navy-office, who did look after the place of Clerke of the Acts. He was very civil to me, and I to him, and shall be so. There came a letter from my Lady Monk to my Lord about it this evening, but he refused to come to her, but meeting in White Hall, with Sir Thomas Clarges, her brother,

my Lord returned answer, that he could not desist in my business ; and that he believed that General Monk would take it ill if my Lord should name the officers in his army ; and therefore he desired to have the naming of one officer in the fleete. With my Lord by coach to Mr. Crew's, and very merry by the way, discoursing of the late changes and his good fortune. Thence home, and then with my wife to Dorset House, to deliver a list of the names of the justices of the peace for Huntingdonshire. By coach, taking Mr. Fox part of the way with me, that was with us with the King on board the Nazeby, who I found to have married Mrs. Whittle, that lived at Mr. Geer's so long. A very civil gentleman. At Dorset House I met with Mr. Kipps, my old friend, with whom the world is well changed, he being now sealebearer to the Lord Chancellor, at which my wife and I are well pleased, he being a very good natured man. Home and late writing letters. Then to my Lord's lodging, this being the first night of his coming to Whitehall to lie since his coming from sea.

26th. My Lord dined at his lodgings all alone to-day. I went to Secretary Nicholas to carry him my Lord's resolutions about his title, which he had chosen, and that is Portsmouth. I met with Mr. Throgmorton, a merchant, who went with me to the old Three Tuns, at Charing Cross, who did give me five pieces of gold for to do him a small piece of service about a convoy to Bilbo, which I did. In the afternoon, one Mr. Watts came to me, a merchant, to

offer me 500*l.* if I would desist from the Clerk of the Acts place. I pray God direct me in what I do herein. Went to my house, where I found my father, and carried him and my wife to Whitefriars, and myself to Puddlewharfe, to the Wardrobe, to Mr. Townsend, who went with me to Backwell,¹ the goldsmith's, and there we chose 100*l.* worth of plate for my Lord to give Secretary Nicholas. Back and staid at my father's, and so home to bed.

27th. With my Lord to the Duke, where he spoke to Mr. Coventry to despatch my business of the Acts,² in which place every body gives me joy, as if I were in it, which God send. Dined with my Lord and all the officers of his regiment, who invited my Lord and his friends, as many as he would bring, to dinner, at the Swan, at Dowgate, a poor house and ill dressed, but very good fish and plenty. Here Mr. Symons, the Surgeon, told me how he was likely to lose his estate that he had bought, at which I was not a little

¹ Edward Bakewell, an Alderman of London, and opulent banker, ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672, when he retired to Holland, where he died.

There is a most interesting account of Alderman Backwell and his losses by money lent to Charles II. and never repaid, which by the kindness of Mr. F. G. H. Price (of Childs' Bank) I am allowed to copy out of "*Ye Marygold.*" It is far too long for insertion here, but will appear in the Appendix. (M. B.)

² The letters patent, dated 13th July, 12 Charles II., recite and revoke letters patent of 16th February, 14 Charles I., whereby the office of Clerk of the Ships had been given to Dennis Flemming and *Thomas Barlow*, or the survivor. D. F. was then dead, but T. B. living, and Samuel Pepys was appointed in his room, at a salary of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, with 3*s.* 4*d.* for each day employed in travelling, and 6*l.* per annum for boat-hire and all fees due.

pleased. To Westminster, and with Mr. Howe by coach to the Speaker's, where my Lord supped with the King, but I could not get in. So back again, and after a song or two in my chamber in the dark, which do (now that the bed is out) sound very well, I went home and to bed.

28th. My brother Tom came to me with patterns to choose for a suit. I paid him all to this day, and did give him 10*l.* upon account. To Mr. Coventry, who told me that he would do me all right in my business. To Sir G. Downing, the first visit I have made him since he came. He is so stingy a fellow I care not to see him; I quite cleared myself of his office, and did give him liberty to take any body in. After this to my Lord, who lay a-bed till eleven o'clock, it being almost five before he went to-bed, they supped so late last night with the King. This morning I saw poor Bishop Wren¹ going to Chappel, it being a thanksgiving-day for the King's returne. After my Lord was awake, I went up to him to the Nursery, where he do lie, and, having talked with him a little, I took leave and carried my wife and Mrs. Pierce to Clothworkers'-Hall, to dinner, where Mr. Pierce, the Purser, met us. We were invited by Mr. Chaplin, the Victualler. Our entertainment very good, a brave hall, good company, and very good musique. Where among other things I was pleased that I could find out a man by his voice, whom I had

¹ Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. Ob. 1667, aged 82.

never seen before, to be one that sang behind the curtaine formerly at Sir W. Davenant's¹ opera. To my Lord, and then home and to bed.

29th. Up and to White Hall, where I got my warrant from the Duke to be Clerke of the Acts. Also I got my Lord's warrant from the Secretary² for his honour of Earle of Portsmouth, and Viscount Montagu of Hinchinbroke. So to my Lord, to give him an account of what I had done. Then to Sir Geffery Palmer,³ to give them to him to have bills drawn upon them, who told me that my Lord must have some good Latinist to make the preamble to his Patent, which must express his late service in the best terms that he can, and he told me in what high flaunting terms Sir J. Greenville had caused his to be done, which he do not like; but that Sir Richard Fanshawe⁴ had done General Monk's very well. Back to Westminster, and meeting Mr. Townsend in the

¹ Sir William Davenant, born at Oxford 1605. As his father kept an inn there, and his mother was a great beauty, it was insinuated that to Shakespeare, who generally stopped there on his road between London and Stratford, he was indebted for his life and his poetical talents. In 1637 he succeeded Ben Jonson as poet laureate. At the Restoration he obtained a patent for acting plays in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He died 7th April, 1668, aged 63 (See *Diary*, 7th and 9th April, 1668), and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where these words record his name: "O rare Sir William Davenant." (M. B.)

² See July 10, 1660, and note.

³ Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of Chester, 1660; created a Baronet, 1661. Ob. 1670.

⁴ Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight and Baronet, Secretary to Charles the Second in Scotland, and after the Restoration employed on several embassies. He was a good linguist, and translated the *Lusiad* and *Pastor Fido*. Ob. 1666.

Palace, he and I and another or two went and dined at the Leg there. Then to White Hall, where I was told by Mr. Hutchinson¹ at the Admiralty, that Mr. Barlow, my predecessor, Clerke of the Acts, is yet alive, and coming up to town to look after his place, which made my heart sad a little. At night told my Lord thereof, and he bade me get possession of my Patent; and he would do all that could be done to keep him out. This night my Lord and I looked over the list of the Captains, and marked some that my Lord had a mind to have put out. Home and to bed. Our wench very lame, abed these two days.

30th. By times to Sir R. Fanshawe to draw up the preamble to my Lord's Patent.² So to my Lord, and with him to White Hall, where I saw a great many fine antique heads of marble, that my Lord Northumberland³ had given the King. Here meeting with Mr. De Cretz,⁴ he looked over many of the pieces in the gallery with me and told me [by] whose hands they were with great pleasure. Dined at home and Mr. Hawley with me upon six of my pigeons, which my wife has resolved to kill here. This day came Will [Wayneman], my boy, to me; the wench continuing

¹ In a list of the Admiralty officers just before the King came in, preserved in the British Museum, there occur, Richard Hutchinson, Treasury of the Navy, salary, 1500*l.*; Thomas Tourner, General Clerk, for himself and clerk, 100*l.*; mentioned in the next page.

² See the Appendix.

³ Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

⁴ Son of John De Creetz, sergeant-painter to James I. and Charles I.

lame, so that my wife could not be longer without somebody to help her. In the afternoon with Sir Edward Walker, at his lodgings, by St. Giles Church for my Lord's pedigree. To White Hall with Mr. Moore, where I met with a letter from Mr. Turner, offering me 150*l.* to be joined with me in my patent, and to advise me how to improve the advantage of my place, and to keep off Barlow.

July 1st. This morning came home my fine Camlett cloak, with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray God to make me able to pay for it. I went to the cook's and got a good joint of meat, and my wife and I dined at home alone. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet. After sermon called in at Mrs. Crisp's, where I saw Mynheer Roder, that is to marry Sam Hartlib's sister, a great fortune for her to light on, she being worth nothing in the world. To my Lord's, where late at night comes Mr. Morland, whom I left prating with my Lord, and so home.

2nd. Infinite of business that my heart and head and all were full. Met with purser Washington,¹ with whom and a lady, a friend of his, I dined at the Bell Taverne in King Street, but the rogue had no more manners than to invite me and to let me pay my club. All the afternoon with my Lord, going up and down the towne ; at seven at night he went home, and there

¹ See Jan. 17th, 1659-60.

the principal Officers of the Navy,¹ among the rest myself was reckoned one. We had order to meet to-morrow, to draw up such an order of the Council as would put us into action before our patents were passed. At which my heart was glad. At night supped with my Lord, he and I together, in the great dining-room alone by ourselves, the first time I ever did it in London. Home to bed, my mayde pretty well again.

3d. All the morning the Officers and Commissioners of the Navy we met at Sir G. Carteret's² chamber, and agreed upon orders for the Council to supersede the old ones, and empower us to act. Dined with Mr. Stephens, the Treasurer's man of the Navy, and Mr. Turner, to whom I offered 50*l.* out of my own purse for one year, and the benefit of a

¹ A list of the Officers of the Admiralty, 31st May, 1660.

From a MS. in the Pepysian Library.

His Royal Highness James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral.

Sir George Carteret, Treasurer.

Sir Robert Slingsby, (soon after) Comptroller.

Sir William Batten, Surveyor.

Samuel Pepys, Esq. Clerk of the Acts.

John, Lord Berkeley,	} Commissioners.
Sir William Penn,	
Peter Pett, Esq.	

² Sir George Carteret, Knight, had originally been bred to the sea service, and became Comptroller of the Navy to Charles the First, and Governor of Jersey, where he obtained considerable reputation by his gallant defence of that Island against the Parliament forces. At the Restoration he was made Vice Chamberlain to the King, Treasurer of the Navy, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1661 M.P. for Portsmouth. He continued in favour with his Sovereign till 1679, when he died in his 80th year. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, Knight of St. Ouen, and had issue three sons and five daughters.

Clerke's allowance beside, which he thanked me for ; but I find he hath some design yet in his head, which I could not think of. In the afternoon my heart was quite pulled down, by being told that Mr. Barlow was to enquire to-day for Mr. Coventry ; but at night I met with my Lord, who told me that I need not fear, for he would get me the place against the world. And when I came to W. Howe, he told me that Dr. Petty had been with my Lord, and did tell him that Barlow was a sickly man, and did not intend to execute the place himself, which put me in great comfort again. Till 2 in the morning writing letters and things for my Lord to send to sea. So home to my wife to bed.

4th. Up very early in the morning and landing my wife at White Friars stairs, I went to the Bridge and so to the Treasurer's of the Navy, with whom I spake about the business of my office, who put me into very good hopes of my business. At his house comes Commissioner Pett, and he and I went to view the houses in Seething Lane, belonging to the Navy, where I find the worst very good, and had great fears in my mind that they will shuffle me out of them, which troubles me. From thence to the Excise Office in Broad Street, where I received £500 for my Lord, and went afterwards down with Mr. Luddyard and drank my morning draft with him and other officers. Thence to Mr. Backewell's, the goldsmith, where I took my Lord's 100*l.* in plate for Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and my own piece of plate, being a state dish and cup in chased work for Mr. Coventry, cost me above 19*l.*

Carried these and the money by coach to my Lord's at White Hall, and from thence carried Nicholas's plate to his house and left it there, intending to speak with him anon. So to Westminster Hall, where meeting with Mons. L'Impertinent and W. Boyer, I took them to the Sun Taverne, and gave them a lobster and some wine, and sat talking like a fool till 4 o'clock. So to my Lord's, and walking all the afternoon in White Hall Court, in expectation of what shall be done in the Council as to our business. It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out of the Council window. At night my Lord told me how my orders that I drew last night about giving us power to act, are granted by the Council. At which he and I were very glad. Home and to bed, my boy lying in my house this night the first time.

5th. This morning my brother Tom brought me my jackanapes coat with silver buttons. It rained this morning, which makes us fear that the glory of this great day will be lost; the King and Parliament being to be entertained by the City to-day with great pomp.¹ Mr. Hater² was with me to-day, and I agreed

¹ "July 5th. His Majesty, the two Dukes, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and the Privy Council, dined at the Guildhall. Every Hall appeared with their colours and streamers to attend His Majesty; the Masters in gold chains. Twelve pageants in the streets between Temple Bar and Guildhall. Forty brace of bucks were that day spent in the City of London." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

² Thomas Hater. He remained with Pepys for some time; and by his assistance was made Petty Purveyor of Petty Missions.

with him to be my clerke. Being at White Hall, I saw the King, the Dukes, and all their attendants go forth in the rain to the City, and it bedaggled many a fine suit of clothes. I was forced to walk all the morning in White Hall, not knowing how to get out because of the rain. Met with Mr. Cooling,¹ my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who took me to dinner among the gentlemen waiters, and after dinner into the wine-cellar. He told me how he had a project for all us Secretaries to join together, and get money by bringing all business into our hands. Thence to the Admiralty, where Mr. Blackburne and I (it beginning to hold up) went and walked an hour or two in the Park, he giving of me light in many things in my way in this office that I go about. And in the evening I got my present of plate carried to Mr. Coventry's. At my Lord's at night comes Dr. Petty to me, to tell me that Barlow had come to towne, and other things, which put me into a despair, and I went to bed very sad.

6th. In the afternoon my Lord and I, and Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, went and took possession of the Navy Office, whereby my mind was a little cheered, but my hopes not great. From thence Sir G. Carteret and I to the Treasurer's Office, where he set some things in order. And so home, calling

¹ Richard Cooling or Coling, A.M., of All-Souls College, Secretary to the Earls of Manchester and Arlington, when they filled the office of Lord Chamberlain, and a Clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary. There is a mezzotinto print of him in the Pepysian Collection.

upon Sir Geoffry Palmer, who did give me advice about my patent, which put me to some doubt to know what to do, Barlow being alive. Afterwards called at Mr. Pim's, about getting me a coat of velvet, and he took me to the Half Moone, and the house so full that we staid above half an hour before we could get anything. So to my Lord's, where in the dark W. Howe and I did sing extemporys, and I find by use that we are able to sing a base and a treble pretty well. So home, and to bed.

7th. To my Lord, one with me to buy a Clerk's place, and I did demand 100*l*. To the Council Chamber, where I took an order for the advance of the salaries of the officers of the Navy, and I find mine to be raised to 350*l*. per annum. Thence to the Change, and afterwards dined with my Uncle and Aunt Wight, and thence to the Navy Office, where I began to take an inventory of the papers, and goods, and books of the office. To my Lord's, late writing letters. So home to bed.

8th (Lord's day). To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life. The Bishop of Chichester¹ preached before the King, and made a great flattering sermon, which I did not like that Clergy should meddle with matters of state.

¹ Henry King, Dean of Rochester, advanced to the See of Chichester, 1641. Ob. 1669.

Dined with Mr. Luellin and Salisbury at a cook's shop. Home, and staid all the afternoon with my wife till after sermon. There till Mr. Fairebrother¹ came to call us out to my father's to supper. He told me how he had perfectly procured me to be made Master in Arts by proxy,² which did somewhat please me, though I remember my cousin Roger Pepys³ was the other day persuading me from it.

9th. To the Navy office,⁴ where in the afternoon we met and sat, and there I begun to sign bills in the Office the first time.

10th. This day I put on first my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Dr. Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder,⁵ which

¹ He was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Senior Proctor of the University. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Naseby, whilst fighting on the King's side, and sent to London. — COLE'S MSS., vol. xv., p. 122.

² The Grace which passed the University, on this occasion, is preserved in Kennett's Chronicle, and commenced as follows: — Cum Sam. Pepys, Coll. Magd. Inceptor in Artibus in Regiâ Classe existat e Secretis, exindeq. apud mare adeo occupatissimus ut Comitibus proxime futuris interesse non possit; placet vobis ut dictus S. P. admissionem suam necnon creationem recipiat ad gradum Magistri in Artibus sub personâ Timothei Wellfit, Inceptoris, &c. &c. — June 26, 1660.

³ Roger Pepys, a Barrister, M. P. for Cambridge, 1661, and afterwards Recorder of that town.

⁴ The Navy Office was erected on the site of Lumley House, formerly belonging to the Fratres Sanctæ Crucis (or Crutched Friars), and all business connected with Naval concerns was transacted there, till its removal to Somerset House. The ground is now occupied by the East India Company's warehouses.

⁵ Afterwards knighted, Aug. 5, 1660, as Sir John Roder. See Diary, Aug. 7, 1660. Le Neve calls him Roth, and says he was of Utrecht. Nan Hartlib was sister to Samuel Hartlib.

was kept at Goring House¹ with very great state, cost, and noble company. But, among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. After dinner I left the company, and carried my wife to Mrs. Turner's. I went to the Attorney-General's, and had my bill which cost me seven pieces. I called my wife, and set her home. And finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the dispatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earle of Sandwich,² Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron of St. Neot's. Home, with my mind pretty quiet: not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

11th. With Sir W. Pen³ by water to the Navy

¹ The magnificence of Goring House is fully described by Evelyn, and its destruction by fire. The title of its owner is preserved in Arlington Street. "This was the town residence of George Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, and of his son, the second peer, who died s. p. in 1670. The house occupied the site of the Mulberry Gardens, upon which Buckingham Palace now stands. It was let to Lord Arlington by the second Earl of Norwich, and called after the tenant." — CUNNINGHAM'S *Hand-Book of London*, p. 206, edit. 1850.

² The motive for Sir Edward Montagu's so suddenly altering his intended title is not explained; probably, the change was adopted as a compliment to the Town of Sandwich, off which the fleet was lying, before it sailed to bring Charles from Scheveling. Montagu had also received marked attentions from Sir John Boys and other principal men at Sandwich; and it may be recollected as an additional reason, that one or both of the seats for that borough have usually been placed at the disposal of the Admiralty. The title of Portsmouth was given, in 1673, *for her life*, to the celebrated Louise de Querouaille, and, becoming extinct with her, was, in 1743, conferred upon John Wallop, Viscount Lymington, the ancestor of the present Earl of Portsmouth.

³ Sir William Pen was born at Bristol in 1621, of the ancient family of the Pens, of Pen Lodge, Wilts. He was Captain at the age of 21: Rear-Admiral

office, where we met, and dispatched business. And that being done, we went all to dinner to the Dolphin, upon Major Brown's invitation. After that to the office again, where I was vexed, and so was Commissioner Pett, to see a busy fellow come to look out the best lodgings for my Lord Barkley, and the combining between him and Sir W. Pen; and, indeed, was troubled much at it. Home to White Hall, and took out my bill signed by the King, and carried it to Mr. Watkins of the Privy Seale to be despatched there, and going home to take a cap, I borrowed a pair of sheets of Mr. Howe, and by coach to the Navy office, and slept there.

12th. Up early and by coach to White Hall with Commissioner Pett, where, after we had talked with my Lord, I went to the Privy Seale and got my bill perfected there, and at the Signet: and then to the House of Lords, and met with Mr. Kipps, who directed me to Mr. Beale to get my patent engrossed; but he not having time to get it done in Chancery-hand, I was forced to run all up and down Chancery-lane, and the Six Clerks' Office,¹ but could

of Ireland at 23; Vice-Admiral of England, and General in the first Dutch war at 32. He was subsequently M.P. for Weymouth, Governor of Kinsale, and Vice-Admiral of Munster. After the Dutch fight in 1665, where he distinguished himself as second in command under the Duke of York, he took leave of the sea, but continued to act as a Commissioner for the Navy till 1669, when he retired on account of his bodily infirmities to Wanstead, and died there September 16, 1670, aged 49.

¹ *Six Clerks' Office.* "In the early history of the Court of Chancery, the Six Clerks and their under-clerks appear to have acted as the attorneys of the suitors. As business encreased, these under-clerks became a distinct body,

find none that could write the hand, that were at leisure. And so in a despair went to the Admiralty, where we met the first time there, my Lord Montagu, my Lord Barkley, Mr. Coventry, and all the rest of the principal Officers and Commissioners, except only the Controller, who is not yet chosen.

13th. Up early, the first day that I put on my black camlett coat with silver buttons. To Mr. Spong, whom I found in his night-gown writing of my patent. It being done, we carried it to Worcester House¹ to the Chancellor, where Mr. Kipps (a strange providence that he should now be in a condition to do me a kindness, which I never thought him capable of doing for me), got me the Chancellor's recepi to my bill; and so carried it to Mr. Beale for a dockett; but he was very angry, and unwilling to do it, because he said it was ill writ (because I had got it writ by another hand, and not by him); but by my much importunity I got Mr. Spong to go to his office and make an end of my patent; and in the mean time Mr. Beale to be preparing my dockett, which being done, I did give him two pieces, after which it was strange

and were recognized by the court under the denomination of 'sworn clerks,' or 'clerks in court.' The advance of commerce, with its consequent accession of wealth, so multiplied the subjects requiring the judgment of a Court of Equity, that the limits of a public office were found wholly inadequate to supply a sufficient number of officers to conduct the business of the suitors. Hence originated the 'Solicitors' of the Court of Chancery."—See SMITH'S *Chancery Practice*, p. 62, 3rd edit. (M. B.)

¹ The Earls of Worcester had a large house between Durham Place and the Savoy, which Lord Clarendon rented at £5 per annum, while his own was building.

how civil and tractable he was to me. From thence I went to the Navy office, where we despatched much business, and resolved of the houses for the Officers and Commissioners, which I was glad of, and I got leave to have a door made me into the leads. From thence, much troubled in mind about my patent, I went to Mr. Beale again, who had now finished my patent and made it ready for the Seale, about an hour after I went to meet him at the Chancellor's. So I went away towards Westminster, and in my way met with Mr. Spong, who still would be giving me council of getting my patent out, for fear of another change, and my Lord Montagu's fall. After that to Worcester House, where by Mr. Kipps's means, and my pressing in General Montagu's name to the Chancellor, I did, beyond all expectation, get my seal passed; and while it was doing in one room, I was forced to keep Sir G. Carteret (who by chance met me there, ignorant of my business) in talk. To my wife, whom I had left in a coach, and presented her with my patent at which she was overjoyed; so to the Navy office, and showed her my house,¹ and were both mightily pleased. I to my Lord's, where I dispatched an order for a ship to fetch Sir R. Honynwood home, for which I got two pieces of my Lady Honynwood by young Mr. Powell. Late writing letters; and great doings of musique at the next house, which was Whally's; the King and Dukes there with Madame

¹ In Seething Lane. See July 18th, *infra*.

Palmer,¹ a pretty woman that they have a fancy to make her husband a cuckold. Here at the old door that did go into his lodgings, my Lord, I, and W. Howe, did stand listening a great while to the musique. To bed with the greatest quiet of mind that I have had a great while, having ate nothing but a bit of bread and cheese at Lilly's to-day, and a bit of bread and butter after I was a-bed.

14th. Up early and advised with my wife for the putting of all our things in a readiness to be sent to our new house. To my Lord's, where he was in bed very late. So with Major Tollemache and others to Harper's, and I sent for my barrel of pickled oysters and there eat them ; while we were doing so, comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher,² the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my armes, and a dedication to me

¹ Barbara Villiers, daughter of William Viscount Grandison, wife of Roger Palmer, Esq., created Earl of Castlemaine, 1661. She became the King's mistress soon after the Restoration, and was in 1670 made Duchess of Cleveland. She died 1701, aged 69. One of her sons by Charles II. was created Duke of Grafton.

² Payne Fisher, who styled himself Paganus Piscator, was born in 1616, in Dorsetshire, and removed from Hart Hall, Oxford, of which he had been a commoner, to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1634; and there took a degree of B. A., and first discovered a turn for poetry. He was afterwards a Captain in the King's service at Marston Moor fight; but, leaving his command, employed his pen against the cause which he had supported with his sword, and became a favourite of Cromwell's. After the King's return, he obtained a scanty subsistence by flattering men in power, and was frequently imprisoned for debt. He died 1693. He published several poems, chiefly in Latin; and, in 1682, printed a book of Heraldry, with the arms of such of the gentry as he had waited upon with presentation copies. He was a man of talents, but vain, unsteady, and conceited, and a great time-server.

very handsome. After him comes Mr. Shepley come from sea yesterday, whom I was glad to see that he may ease me of the trouble of my Lord's business. After that to Westminster Hall, where I paid all my debts in order to my going away from hence. Here I met with Mr. Eglin, who would needs take me to the Leg in King Street and gave me a dish of meat to dinner; and so I sent for Mons. L'Impertinent, where we sat long and were merry. After that parted, and I took Mr. Butler [Mons. L'Impertinent] with me into London by coach and shewed him my house at the Navy Office, and did give order for the laying in coals. So into Fenchurch Street, and did give him a glass of wine at Rawlinson's, and was trimmed in the street. So home, where I found my wife had packed up all her goods in the house fit for a removal. So to bed.

15th. Lay long in bed to recover my rest. Drank my morning draft at Wilkinson's, and after that to Westminster Abbey, and in Henry the Seventh's Chappell heard part of a sermon, the first that ever I heard there. To my Lord's and dined all alone at the table with him. After dinner he and I alone fell to discourse, and I find him plainly to be a sceptic in all things of religion, and to make no great matter of anything therein, but to be a perfect Stoic. In the afternoon to Henry the Seventh's Chappell, where I heard service and a sermon there, and after that meeting W. Bowyer there he and I to the Parke, and walked a good while till night. So to Harper's and drank

together, and Captain Stokes came to us and so I fell into discourse of buying paper at the best hand in my office, and the Captain promised me to buy it for me in France. My wife at home all the day, she having no clothes out, all being packed up yesterday. For this month I have wholly neglected anything of news, and so have beyond belief been ignorant how things go, but now by my patent my mind is in some quiet, which God keep. My wife and I mightily pleased with our new house that we hope to have. My patent has cost me a great deal of money, about 40*l.*, which is the only thing at present which do trouble me much.

16th. This morning it proved very rainy weather so that I could not remove my goods to my house. I to my office and did business there, and so home.

17th. This morning (as indeed all the mornings now-a-days) much business at my Lord's. There came to my house before I went out Mr. Barlow,¹ an old consumptive man, and very fair conditioned. After much talk, I did grant him what he asked, viz., 50*l.* per annum, if my salary be not increased, and 100*l.* per annum, in case it be to 350*l.*, at which he was very well pleased to be paid as I received my money, and not otherwise, so I brought him to my Lord's bedside, and he and I did agree together. That done and the day proving fair I went home and got all my things packed up and sent away, and my wife and I and Mrs.

¹ See *ante*, June 27th, and note.

Hunt went by coach, overtaking the carts a-drinking in the Strand. Being come to my house and set in the goods, and at night sent my wife and Mrs. Hunt to buy something for supper; they bought a Quarter of Lamb, and so we eat it, but it was not half roasted. Will, Mr. Blackburne's nephew, is so obedient, that I am greatly glad of him.

18th. This morning we met at the office: I dined at my house in Seething Lane, and after that, about 4 o'clock, going to Westminster Hall I met with Mr. Carter and Mr. Cooke. I did also meet with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, with a porter with him, with a barrel of Lemons, which my man Burr sends me from sea. I took all these people home to my house and did give them some drink. Thence to my Lord about business, and being in talk in comes one with half a buck from Hinchinbroke, and it smelling a little strong my Lord did give it me (though it was as good as any could be). I did carry it to my mother, where I had not been a great while, and indeed had no great mind to go, because my father did lay upon me continually to do him a kindness at the Wardrobe, which I could not do because of my own business being so fresh with my Lord. But my father was not at home, and so I did leave the venison with her to dispose of as she pleased. After that home, where W. Hewer¹

¹ William Hewer, of whose family nothing more is known except that his father died of the plague, 14th Sept., 1665. He became afterwards a Commissioner of the Navy, and Treasurer for Tangier, and was the constant companion of Pepys, who died in his house at Clapham, previously the resi-

now was, and did lie this night with us, the first night. My mind very quiet, only a little trouble I have for the great debts which I have still upon me to the Secretary, Mr. Kipps, and Mr. Spong for my patent.

19th. I did lie late a-bed. I and my wife by water, landed her at Whitefriars with her boy with an iron of our new range which is already broke and my wife will have changed, and many other things she has to buy with the help of my father to-day. This day I received my commission to swear people the oath of allegiance and supremacy delivered me by my Lord. After talk with my Lord I went to Westminster Hall, where I took Mr. Michell and his wife to the Dog Taverne, where I did give them a dish of anchovies and olives and paid for all, and did talk of our old discourse when we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately; after that to the Admiralty Office, in White Hall, where I staid and writ my last observations for these four days last past. Great talk of the difference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy, but I believe it will come to nothing. So home and to bed.

20th. We sat at the office this morning, Sir W. Batten and Mr. Pett being upon a survey to Chatham. I sent my wife to my father's and he is to give me £5

dence of Sir Dennis Gauden. Mr. Hewer was buried in the old church at Clapham, where a large monument of marble, with his bust in alto-relievo, erected to his memory, was, on the rebuilding of the church, placed outside, and in November, 1852, nearly destroyed. See the Appendix for the inscription.

worth of pewter. After we rose at the office, I went to my father's, where my Uncle Fenner and all his crew and Captain Holland and his wife and my wife were at dinner at a venison pasty of the venison that I did give my mother the other day.

21st. This morning Mr. Barlow had appointed for me to bring him what form I would have the agreement between him and me to pass, which I did to his lodgings at the Golden Eagle in the new street between Fetter Lane and Shoe Lane,¹ and went to get Mr. Spong to engross it in duplicates. To my Lord and spoke to him about the business of the Privy Seale for me to be sworn, though I got nothing by it, but to do Mr. Moore a kindness. Went to the Six Clerks' office to Mr. Spong for the writings, and dined with him at a club at the next door, where we had three voices to sing catches. So to Whitehall about business of my Lord's concerning his creation,² and so home and to bed.

22nd (Lord's day). My brother Tom came this morning the first time to see me, and I paid him all that I owe my father to this day. Afterwards I went out and looked into several churches, and so to my uncle Fenner to dinner. After dinner to White Hall, where I find my Lord at home, and walked in the garden with him, he showing me all the respect that can be. I left him and went to walk in the inward Park, but could not get in; one man was basted by

¹ Still known as New Street, in which is the Queen's Printing Office.

² In the peerage.

the keeper, for carrying some people over on his back through the water. Afterwards to my Lord's, where I staid and drank with Mr. Shepley, having first sent to get a pair of oars. It was the first time that ever I went by water on the Lord's day. Home, and at night had a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the Common Prayer Book, the first time that ever I read prayers in this house. So to bed.

23rd. This morning Mr. Barlow comes to me, and he and I went forth to a scrivener in Fenchurch Street, whom we found sick of the gout in bed, and signed and sealed our agreement before him, and afterwards Mr. Barlow by appointment came and dined with me, and both of us very pleasant and pleased. After dinner to my Lord, who took me to Secretary Nicholas,¹ and there before him and Secretary Morris,² my Lord and I upon our knees together took our oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and the Oath of the Privy Seale, of which I was much glad, though I am not likely to get anything by it at present; but I do desire it, for fear of a turn-out of our office.

24th. To White Hall, where I did acquaint Mr. Watkins with my being sworn into the Privy Seale, at which he was much troubled, but did offer me a kinsman of his to be my clerk, which I did give him some

¹ Sir Edward Nicholas, many years principal Secretary of State to Charles the First and Second; dismissed from his office through the intrigues of Lady Castlemaine in 1663, and ob. 1669, aged 77.

² Sir William Morris, Secretary of State from 1660 to 1668. Ob. 1676. He was kirsman to General Monk.

hope of, though I never intend it. In the afternoon I spent much time in walking in White Hall Court with Mr. Bickerstaffe,¹ who was very glad of my Lord's being sworn, because of his business with his brother Baron,¹ which is referred to my Lord Chancellor, and to be ended to-morrow. Baron had got a grant beyond sea, to come in before the reversionary of the Privy Seale.

25th. In the morning at the office, and after that down to Whitehall, where I met with Creed, and with him and a Welsh schoolmaster, a good scholar but a very pedagogue, to the ordinary at the Leg in King Street. I got my certificate of my Lord's and my being sworn. This morning my Lord took leave of the House of Commons, and had the thanks of the House for his great service to his country.² In the afternoon (but this is a mistake, for it was yesterday in the afternoon) Monsieur L'Impertinent³ and I met and I took him to the Sun and drank with him, and in the evening going away we met his mother and sisters and father coming from the Gate-house, where they lodge, where I did the first time salute them all, and very pretty Madame Frances⁴ is indeed. After that very late home and called in Tower Street, and there at a barber's was trimmed the first time. Home and to bed.

¹ They were both clerks of the Privy Seal.

² In the Journals this is stated to have taken place July 24th.

³ Mr. Butler: see *ante*, 14th July.

⁴ Mr. Butler's sister: see 17th June, 1660, and 23rd June, 1661.

26th. Early to White Hall, thinking to have a meeting of my Lord and the principal officers, but my Lord could not, it being the day that he was to go and be admitted in the House of Lords, his patent being done, which he presented upon his knees to the Speaker; and so it was read in the House, and he took his place. I at the Privy Seale Office with Mr. Hooker, who brought me acquainted with Mr. Crofts of the Signet, and I invited them to a dish of meat at the Leg in King Street, and so we dined there and I paid for all and had very good light given me as to my employment there. In the evening I met with T. Doling, who carried me to St. James's Fair,¹ and there meeting with W. Symons and his wife, and Luellin, and D. Scobell's wife and cousin, we went to Wood's at the Pell Mell (our old house for clubbing), and there we spent till 10 at night, at which time I sent to my Lord's for my clerk Will to come to me, and so by link home to bed.

27th. The last night Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen came to their houses at the office. Met this morning and did business till noon. Dined at home and from thence to my Lord's where Will, my clerk, and I were all the afternoon making up my accounts, and I find myself worth about £100 after all my expenses. We

¹ In the August of the following year, the Fair, called St. James's Fair, was kept the full appointed time, being a fortnight; during which time many lewd and infamous persons were committed by the King's commands.—RUGGER'S *Diurnal*. It was afterwards known as May Fair, and not finally abolished till the reign of George III. See *art.* "St. James's Fair," in "Hand-book of London," p. 255, edit. 1850.

got a coach, but the horses were tired and could not carry us farther than St. Dunstan's. So we 'light and took a link and so home weary to bed.

28th. A boy brought me a letter from Poet Fisher, who tells me that he is upon a panegyrique of the King, and desired to borrow a piece of me; and I sent him half a piece. To Westminster, and there met Mr. Henson, who had formerly had the brave clock that went with bullets¹ (which is now taken away from him by the King, it being his goods). I went with him to the Swan Taverne and sent for Mr. Butler, who was now all full of his high discourse in praise of Ireland, whither he and his whole family are going by Coll. Dillon's persuasion, but so many lies I never heard in praise of anything as he told of Ireland. So home late at night and to bed.

29th (Lord's day). With my Lord to White Hall Chappell, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's,² and the ceremonies did not

¹ Some clocks are still made with a small ball, or bullet, on an inclined plane, which turns every minute. The King's clocks probably dropped bullets. Gainsborough the painter had a brother who was a dissenting minister at Henley-on-Thames, and possessed a strong genius for mechanics. He invented a clock of a very peculiar construction, which, after his death, was deposited in the British Museum. It told the hour by a little bell, and was kept in motion by a leaden bullet, which dropped from a spiral reservoir at the top of the clock, into a little ivory bucket. This was so contrived as to discharge it at the bottom, and by means of a counter-weight was carried up to the top of the clock, where it received another bullet, which was discharged as the former. This seems to have been an attempt at the perpetual motion. — *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1785, p. 931.

² Brian Duppa, successively bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester. Ob. 1662.

please me, they do so overdo them. My Lord went to dinner at Kensington with my Lord Camden.¹ So I dined and in the afternoon with Dick Vines and his brother Payton, we walked to Lisson Greene and Marybone and back again, and finding my Lord at home I got him to look over my accounts, which he did approve of and signed them, and so we are even to this day.

30th. Sat at our office to-day, and my father came this day the first time to see us at my new office. This afternoon I got my 50*l.*, due to me for my first quarter's salary as Secretary to my Lord, paid to Tho. Hater for me, which he received and brought home to me, of which I am full glad. To Westminster and met with Mr. Moore, and took him and his friend, a bookseller of Paul's Churchyard, to the Rhenish Winehouse, and drinking there the sword-bearer of London (Mr. Man) came to ask for us, with whom we sat late, discoursing about the worth of my office of Clerke of the Acts, which he hath a mind to buy, and I asked four years' purchase. Home on foot, and seeing him at home at Butler's merry, he lent me a torch, which Will carried, and so home.

31st. To White Hall, where my Lord and the principal officers met, and had a great discourse about raising of money for the Navy, which is in very sad condition, and money must be raised for it. Mr.

¹ Baptist, second Viscount Campden, Lord Lieutenant of Rutlandshire. Ob. 1683. Campden House was occupied in 1846 as a Ladies' School. It contained some fine rooms, of which engravings have been made.

Blackburne, Dr. Clerke, and I to the Quaker's and dined there. I back to the Admiralty, and there was doing things in order to the calculating of the debts of the Navy and other business, all the afternoon. At night I went to the Privy Seale, where I found Mr. Crofts and Mathews making up all their things to leave the office to-morrow, to those that come to wait the next month. I took them to the Sun Taverne and there made them drink, and discoursed concerning the office, and what I was to expect to-morrow about Baron, who pretends to the next month.

August 1st. Up very early, and by water to Whitehall to my Lord's, and there talked with him about the affairs of the Navy, and how I was now to wait to-day at the Privy Seale. Hence to the Privy Seale Office, where I got (by Mr. Mathew's means) possession of the books and table, but with some expectations of Baron's bringing of a warrant from the King to have this month. I took at noon Mr. Harper to the Leg in King Street, and did give him his dinner, who did still advise me much to act wholly myself at the Privy Seale, but I told him that I could not, because I had other business to take up my time. In the afternoon at the office again, where we had many things to sign; and I went to the Council Chamber, and there got my Lord to sign the first bill, and the rest all myself; but received no money to-day. After I had signed all I went with Dick Scobell and Luellin to drink at a bottle beer house in the Strand, and after staying there a while, I took boat and homewards, and

in Fish Street bought a Lobster, and after I had bought it I met with Winter and Mr. Delabarr, and there with a piece of sturgeon of theirs we went to the Sun Taverne in the street and eat them. Late home and to bed.

2d. To Westminster by water with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen (our servants in another boat) to the Admiralty; and from thence I went to my Lord's to fetch him thither, where we stayed in the morning about ordering of money for the victuallers, and advising how to get a sum of money to carry on the business of the Navy. From thence W. Hewer and I to the office of Privy Seale, where I stayed all the afternoon, and received about 40*l.* for yesterday and to-day, at which my heart rejoiced for God's blessing to me, to give me this advantage by chance, there being of this 40*l.* about 10*l.* due to me for this day's work. So great is the present profit of this office, above what it was in the King's time; there being the last month about 300 bills, whereas in the late King's time it was much to have 40. With my money home by coach, it being the first time that I could get home before our gates were shut since I came to the Navy office. I went and cast up the expense that I laid out upon my former house (because there are so many that are desirous of it, and I am, in my mind, loth to let it go out of my hands, for fear of a turn). I find my layings-out to come to about 20*l.* which with my fine will come to about 22*l.* to him that shall hire my house¹ of me.

¹ In Axe Yard.

3rd. Up betimes this morning, and after the barber had done with me, then to the office, where I and Sir William Pen only did meet and despatch business. At noon my wife and I by coach to Dr. Clerke's to dinner. I was very much taken with his lady, a comely, proper woman, though not handsome; but a woman of the best language I ever heard.¹ After dinner at the Privy Seale Office all day, signing things and taking money all day, so that I could not do as I had intended, that is to return to them and go to the Red Bull Play-house.²

4th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone with the King by water to dine at the Tower with Sir J. Robinson,³ Lieutenant. I found my Lady Jemimah,⁴ at my Lord's, with whom I staid and dined, all alone; after dinner to the Privy Seale Office, where I did business. So to a Committee of Parliament (Sir Hen. Finch,⁵ Chairman), to give them an answer to an order of theirs, "that we could not give them any account of the Accounts of the Navy in the years 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, as they desire." After that I went and bespoke some linen of Betty Lane in the Hall, and after that

¹ Compare 2nd May, 1662; 13th Jan., 1662-63; and 6th July, 1664.

² It stood in St. John's Street, on what is now Red Bull Yard, St. John Street Road. See 23rd March, 1661.

³ Sir John Robinson, created a Baronet for his services to Charles II., 1660, and had an augmentation to his arms. He was Lord Mayor of London, 1663. He retained the Lieutenancy of the Tower till 1678. A portrait of him is at Mr. Vernon Smith's, at Farming Woods, in Northamptonshire.

⁴ Lady Jemima Montagu.

⁵ Solicitor-General, 1660; Lord Keeper, 1673; Chancellor, 1675; created Earl of Nottingham, 1681. Ob. 1682.

to the Trumpet. At night, it being very rainy, and it thundering and lightning exceedingly, I took coach at the Trumpet door, taking Monsieur L'Impertinent along with me as far as the Savoy. I made haste home. To bed, having not time to write letters, and indeed having so many to write to all places that I have no heart to go about them.

5th (Lord's day). My wife being in much pain, I went this morning to Dr. Williams, in Holborne, and he did give me an ointment which I sent home by my boy, and a plaister which I took with me to Westminster, where I dined with Mr. Shepley. After dinner to St. Margaret's, where the first time I ever heard Common Prayer in that Church. I sat with Mr. Hill in his pew. Church done I went and Mr. Shepley to see W. Howe at Mr. Pierce's, where I staid singing of songs and psalms an hour or two, and were very pleasant with Mrs. Pierce and him. After that to Westminster stairs, where I saw a fray between Mynheer Clinke, a Dutchman, that was at Hartlibb's wedding, and a waterman, which made good sport. After that I got a Gravesend boat, that was come up to fetch some bread on this side the bridge, and got them to carry me to the bridge, and so home. After prayers to bed.

6th. This morning at the office, and, that being done, home to dinner all alone, my wife being ill in pain a-bed, which I was troubled at, and not a little impatient. This night Mr. Man offered me 1000*l*. for my office of Clerke of the Acts, which made my mouth

water ; but yet I dare not take it till I speak with my Lord to have his consent.

7th. Mr. Moore and myself dined at my Lord's with Mr. Shepley. While I was at dinner in come Sam. Hartlibb¹ and his brother-in-law, now knighted by the King,² to request my promise of a ship for them to Holland, which I had promised to get for them. After dinner to the Privy Seale all the afternoon. At night, meeting Sam. Hartlibb, he took me by coach to Kensington, to my Lord of Holland's ; I staid in the coach while he went in about his business. Thence to my office of Privy Seale, and, having signed some things there, with Mr. Moore and Dean Fuller to the Leg in King Street, and, sending for my wife, we dined there very merry, and after dinner parted.

8th. To Mr. Butler's to see his daughters, the first time that ever we made a visit to them. We found them very pretty, and Coll. Dillon³ there, a very merry and witty companion, but methinks they live in a gaudy but very poor condition. At night from the Privy Seale, Mr. Woodson and Mr. Jennings and I to the Sun Taverne till it was late, and from thence to my Lord's, where my wife was come from Mrs. Blackburne's to me, and after I had done some business with my Lord, she and I went to Mrs. Hunt's, who would needs have us lie at her house to-night.

¹ Samuel Hartlib, son of a Polish merchant, and author of several ingenious works on Agriculture, for which he had a pension from Cromwell. — *Vide Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*

² Sir John Roder, or Roth. See *ante*, July 10th.

³ Frances Butler's suitor: see *ante*, 25th July, and *post*, 31st Dec., 1662.

9th. With Judge Advocate Fowler, Mr. Creed, and Mr. Shepley to the Rhenish Wine-house,¹ and Captain Hayward of the Plymouth, who is now ordered to carry my Lord Winchelsea, Ambassador to Constantinople. We were very merry, and Judge Advocate did give Captain Hayward his Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

10th. With Mr. Moore and Creed to Hide-parke by coach, and saw a fine foot-race three times round the Park, between an Irishman and Crow, that was once my Lord Claypoole's² footman. (By the way I cannot forget that my Lord Claypoole did the other day make enquiry of Mrs. Hunt, concerning my House in Axe-yard, and did set her on work to get it of me for him, which methinks is a very great change.) Crow beat the other by above two miles. Returned from Hide Park, I went to my Lord's, and took Will by coach and went home, taking my lute home with me. It had been all this while since I came from sea at my Lord's for him to play on. For this month or two it is not imaginable how busy my

¹ In Channel, now Cannon Row, Westminster, at the end of a passage leading from King Street. It is mentioned again Nov. 24, 1660. There was another Rhenish wine-house in Crooked Lane. See May 23, 1661.

² John Lord Claypoole married, in 1645, Elizabeth, second daughter of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he became Master of the Horse, and a Lord of the Bedchamber: he was also placed in his father-in-law's Upper House. During Richard Cromwell's time he retained all his places at Court; and at the Restoration, never having made an enemy whilst his relations were in power, he was not molested, and lived till 1688. His father had been proceeded against in the Star Chamber, for resisting the payment of Ship Money, and was by Cromwell constituted Clerk of the Hanaper, and created a Baronet.

head has been, so that I have neglected to write letters to my uncle Robert in answer to many of his, and to other friends, nor indeed have I done anything as to my own family, and especially this month my waiting at the Privy Seale makes me much more unable to think of anything, because of my constant attendance there after I have done at the Navy Office. But blessed be God for my good chance of the Privy Seale, where I get every day I believe about 3*l*. This place my Lord did give me by chance, neither he nor I thinking it to be of the worth that he and I find it to be. Never since I was a man in the world was I ever so great a stranger to publique affairs as now I am, having not read a new book or anything like it, or enquired after any news, or what the Parliament do, or in any wise how things go. Many people look after my house in Axe-yard to hire it, so that I am troubled with them, and I have a great mind to get the money to buy goods for my house at the Navy Office, and yet I am loth to put it off because Mr. Man bids me 1000*l*. for my office, which is so great a sum that I am loth to settle myself at my new house, lest I should take Mr. Man's offer in case I found my Lord willing to it.

11th. To my Lord this morning, who did give me order to get some things ready against the afternoon for the Admiralty where we would meet. To the Privy Seale, and from thence going to my own house in Axe-yard, I went in to Mrs. Crisp's, where I met with Mr. Hartlibb, for whom I wrote a letter for my

Lord to sign for a ship for his brother and sister, who went away hence this day to Gravesend, and from thence to Holland. Thence to my Lord's to dinner with Mr. Shepley, so to the Privy Seale, and at night home, and then sent for the barber, and was trimmed in the kitchen, the first time that ever I was so. I was vexed this night that W. Hewer was out of doors till ten at night, but was pretty well satisfied again when my wife told me that he wept because I was angry, though indeed he did give me a good reason for his being out, but I thought it a good occasion to let him know that I do expect his being at home. So to bed.

12th (Lord's day). To my Lord, and with him to White Hall Chappell, where Mr. Calamy preached, and made a good sermon upon these words "To whom much is given, of him much is required." He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's,¹ which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it. My Lord dined at my Lord Chamberlin's,² and I at his house with Mr. Shepley. After dinner I went to walk, and meeting Mrs. Lane of Westminster Hall, I took her to my Lord's, and did give her a bottle of wine in the gar-

¹ Henry Cooke, who had served in the Royal army, and obtained a captain's commission, was made, at the Restoration, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal; he was an excellent musician; and died in 1672. He was one of the original performers in the "Siege of Rhodes." Captains Cooke and Cocke require to be accurately distinguished.

² The Earl of Manchester.

den, where Mr. Fairbrother, of Cambridge, did come and found us, and drank with us. Home and to bed.

13th. A sitting day at our office. After dinner to Whitehall, to the Privy Seale, whither my father came to me and told me that he had propounded Mr. John Pickering for Sir Thomas Honywood's daughter, which I think he do not deserve for his own merit. I know not what he may do for his estate. Then I to my Lord's, where he told me that he would suddenly go into the country, and so did commend the business of his sea commission to me in his absence. After that home by coach, and took my 100*l.* that I had formerly left at Mr. Rawlinson's, home with me, which is the first that ever I was master of at once. To prayers, and to bed.

14th. To the Privy Seale, and thence to my Lord's, where Mr. Pim, the taylor, and I agreed upon making me a velvet coat. From thence to the Privy Seale again, where Sir Samuel Morland¹ came in with a Baronet's grant to pass, which the King had given him to make money of. Here he staid with me a great while ; and he told me the whole manner of his serving the King in the time of the Protector ; and how Thurloe's bad usage made him to do it ; how he discovered Sir R. Willis, and how he had sunk his fortune for the King ; and that now the King had given him a pension of 500*l.* per annum out of the

¹ See 13th May, 1660.

Post Office for life, and the benefit of two Baronets ; all which do make me begin to think that he is not so much a fool as I took him to be. Home, and after dinner in comes young Captain Cuttance of the *Speedwell*, who is sent up for the gratuity given the seamen that brought the King over. He brought me a firkin of butter for my wife, which is very welcome. My father, after dinner, takes leave, after I had given him 40s. for the last half year for my brother John at Cambridge. I did also make even with Mr. Fairbrother for my degree of Master of Arts,¹ which cost me about 9*l.* 16*s.* To White Hall, and my wife with me by water. At night home with her by water, where I made good sport with having the girle and the boy to comb my head, before I went to bed, in the kitchen.

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to White Hall, where I found the King gone this morning by 5 of the clock to see a Dutch pleasure-boat² below bridge, where he dines, and my Lord with him. The King do tire all his people that are about him with early rising since he came. To the office all the afternoon, and thence to my Lord's, where he did give me direction about his business in his absence, he intending to go into the country to-morrow morning. Here I lay all night.

16th. This morning my Lord carried me by coach to Mr. Crew's, in the way talking how good he did

¹ See *ante*, July 8th, and note.

² Afterwards noticed in Nov. 8th, 1660, and Jan. 13th, 1660-61.

hope my place would be to me, and in general speaking that it was not the salary of any place that did make a man rich, but the opportunity of getting money while he is in the place. He took leave, and so for Hinchinbroke. My Lady Jemimah and Mr. Thomas Crew in the coach with him.

17th. To the office, and that done home to dinner where Mr. Unthanke, my wife's tailor, dined with us, we have nothing but a dish of sheep's trotters. At night I and Creed and the Judge-Advocate went to Mr. Pim, the tailor's, who took us to the Half Moone, and there did give us great store of wine and anchovies, and would pay for them all. This night I saw Mr. Creed show many the strangest emotions to shift off his drink I ever saw in my life. By coach home and to bed.

18th. Towards Westminster by water, and landed my wife at Whitefriar's, with 5*l.* to buy her a petticoat. My father has persuaded her to buy a most fine cloth of 26*s.* a yard, and a rich lace, that the petticoat will come to 5*l.*, at which I was somewhat troubled, but she doing it very innocently, I could not be angry. I did give her more money, and sent her away. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpitt play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, "*The Loyall Subject*,"¹ where one Kynaston,² a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the

¹ A tragi-comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

² Edward Kynaston, engaged by Sir W. Davenant in 1660, to perform the principal female characters: he afterwards assumed the male ones in the first

loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life. After the play done, we three went to drink, and by Captain Ferrer's means, Kinaston and another that acted Archas, the General, came and drank with us. Hence home by coach, and after being trimmed, leaving my wife to look after her little bitch, which was just now a-whelping, I to bed.

19th (Lord's day). This morning Sir W. Batten, Pen, and myself, went to church to the churchwardens, to demand a pew, which at present could not be given us, but we are resolved to have one built. So we staid and heard Mr. Mills, a very good minister. Home to dinner, where my wife had on her new petticoat that she bought yesterday, which indeed is a very fine cloth and a fine lace ; but that being of a light colour, and the lace all silver, it makes no great show. Mr. Creed and my brother Tom dined with me. After they were gone, I went up to put my papers in order, and finding my wife's clothes lie carelessly laid up, I was angry with her, which I was troubled for. After that my wife and I went and walked in the garden, and so home to bed.

20th (Office day). As Sir W. Pen and I were walking in the garden, a messenger came to me from the Duke of York to fetch me to the Lord Chancellor. So I went with Mrs. Turner in her coach as far as Worcester House, but my Lord Chancellor being gone to the House of Lords, I went thither, and

parts of tragedy, and continued on the stage till the end of King William's reign. The period of his death is not known.

(there being a law case before them this day) got in, and there staid all the morning, seeing their manner of sitting on woolpacks, &c., which I never did before. After the House was up, I spoke to my Lord, and had order from him to come to him at night. This afternoon at the Privy Seale, where reckoning with Mr. Moore, he had got 100*l.* for me together, which I was glad of, guessing that the profits of this month would come to 100*l.* With W. Hewer by coach to Worcester House,¹ where I light, sending him home with the 100*l.* that I received to-day. Here I staid, and saw my Lord Chancellor come into his Great Hall, where wonderful how much company there was to expect him at a Seale. Before he would begin any business, he took my papers of the state of the debts of the Fleet, and there viewed them before all the people, and did give me his advice privately how to order things, to get as much money as we can of the Parliament. That being done, I went home, where I found all my things come home from sea, of which I was glad, though many of the things are quite spoilt with mould by reason of being so long a shipboard, and my cabin being not even. I spent much time to dispose of them to-night, and so to bed.

21st. This morning I went to White Hall with Sir W. Pen by water, who in our passage told me how he was bred up under Sir W. Batten. We went to Mr. Coventry's chamber, and consulted of drawing my

¹ See *ante*, 13th July.

papers of debts of the Navy against the afternoon for the Committee. So to Westminster, where I met Mr. Crew and dined with him, where there dined one Mr. Hickeman,¹ an Oxford man, who spoke very much against the height of the now old clergy, for putting out many of the religious fellows of Colleges, and inveighing against them for their being drunk, which, if true, I am sorry to hear. After that towards Westminster, where I called on Mr. Pim, and there found my velvet coat (the first that ever I had), and a velvet mantle, which I took to the Privy Seale Office, and there locked them up, and then to the Queen's Court, and there Colonel Birch read my papers, and desired some addition. Then meeting Monsieur Eschar (Mr. Montagu's man), about the Savoy, he took Mr. Creed and me to the Brazennose Taverne, and there drank and so parted, and I home by coach, and there, it being post-night, I wrote to my Lord to give him notice that all things are well; that General Monk is made Lieutenant of Ireland, which my Lord Roberts² (made Deputy) do not like of, to be Deputy to any man but the King himself.

22nd. Office, which done, Sir W. Pen took me into

¹ Henry Hickman, a native of Worcestershire, took the degree of B.A. at St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and migrating to Oxford, obtained a fellowship at Magdalen College, from the usurping powers, which he lost in 1660, to make room for the rightful owner. He then retired to Holland, and passed most of his time abroad, dying at Leyden in 1692. He wrote several theological tracts, and was considered a severe enemy to the ceremonies of the Church of England.

² John, second Lord Robartes, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Radnor, 1679. Ob. 1685. He married one of the daughters of Sir John Cutler.

the garden, and there told me how Mr. Turner do intend to petition the Duke for an allowance extra as one of the Clerks of the Navy, which he desired me to join with him in the furthering of, which I promised to do so that it did not reflect upon me or to my damage to have any other added, as if I was not able to perform my place. In the House, after the Committee was up, I met with Mr. G. Montagu, and joyed him in his entrance (this being his 3d day) for Dover. Here he made me sit all alone in the House, none but he and I, half an hour, discoursing how things stand, and in short he told me how there was like to be many factions at Court between Marquis Ormond,¹ General Monk, and the Lord Roberts, about the business of Ireland; as there is already between the two Houses about the Act of Indemnity; and in the House of Commons, between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian men. Hence to my father's (walking with Mr. Herring, the minister of St. Bride's), and took them to the Sun Taverne. So home and to bed.

23rd. By water to Doctors' Commons to Dr. Walker,² to give him my Lord's papers to view over, concerning his being empowered to be Vice-Admiral under the Duke of York. Thence by water to White Hall, to the Parliament House, where I spoke with Colonel Birch,³ and so to the Admiralty chamber,

¹ James, afterwards created Duke of Ormond, and K. G., and twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

² One of the Judges of the Admiralty.

³ Colonel John Birch represented Leominster at that time, and afterwards Penrhyn. He was an active Member of Parliament.

where we and Mr. Coventry had a meeting about several businesses. Amongst others, it was moved that Phineas Pett¹ (kinsman to the commissioner) of Chatham, should be suspended his employment till he had answered some articles put in against him, as that he should formerly say that the King was a bastard and his mother a strumpet. Hence to Westminster Hall, where I met with my father, Bowyer, and Mr. Spicer, and then I took to the Leg in King Street, and did give them a dish or two of meat, and so away to the Privy Seale, where, the King being out of town, we have had nothing to do these two days. To Westminster Hall, where I met with W. Symons, &c., and with them to the Dogg, where we eat a musk melon,² the first that I have eat this year.

25th. This night W. Hewer brought me home³ from Mr. Pim's my velvet coat and cap, the first that ever I had.

26th (Lord's day). With Sir W. Pen to the parish church, where we are placed in the highest pew of all. A stranger preached a dry and tedious long sermon. Dined at home. To church again in the afternoon with my wife; in the garden and on the leads at night, and so to supper and to bed.

27th. This morning comes one with a vessel of

¹ Phineas Pett, an eminent ship-builder employed by the Admiralty.

² Melons were hardly known in England till Sir George Gardiner brought one from Spain, when they became in general estimation. The ordinary price was five or six shillings. — *Quarterly Review*, vol. xix. p. 20.

³ From the Privy Seal Office, see August 21st. (M. B.)

Northdown ale from Mr. Pierce, the purser, to me, and after him another with a brave Turkey carpet and a jar of olives from Captain Cuttance, and a pair of fine turtle doves to my wife. These things came up to-day in our smack, and my boy Ely came along with them, and came after office was done to see me. I did give him half a crowne because I saw that he was ready to cry to see that he could not be entertained by me here. In the afternoon to the Privy Seale, where good store of work now toward the end of the month. Major Hart came to me, whom I did receive with wine and anchovies, which made me so dry that I was ill with them all night, and was fain to have the girle rise and fetch me some drink.

28th. Sometime I spent this morning beginning to teach my wife some scale in musique, and found her apt beyond imagination. To the Privy Seale, where great store of work to-day. Colonel Scroope¹ is this day excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, which has been now long in coming out, but it is expected to-morrow. I carried home 80*l.* from the Privy Seale, by coach, and at night spent a little more time with my wife about her musique with great content. To bed, a little troubled that I fear my boy Will is a thief and has stole some money of mine, particularly a letter that Mr. Jenkins did leave the last week with me with half a crowne in it to send to his son.

29th (Office day). Before I went to the office my

¹ Colonel Adrian Scroope, one of the persons who sat in judgment upon Charles I.

wife and I examined my boy Will about his stealing of things, but he denied all with the greatest subtlety and confidence in the world. To the office, and after office then to the Church, where we took another view of the place where we had resolved to build a gallery, and have set men about doing it. Home to dinner, and there I found my wife had discovered my boy Will's theft and a great deal more than we imagined, at which I was vexed and intend to put him away. To my office at the Privy Seale in the afternoon, and then sent for my boy's father and talked with him about his son, and had his promise that if I will send home his boy, he will take him notwithstanding his indenture. To bed, and caused the boy's clothes to be brought up to my chamber. But after we were all a-bed, the wench (which lies in our chamber) called us to listen of a sudden, which put my wife into such a fright that she shook every joint of her, and a long time that I could not get her out of it. The noise was the boy, we did believe, got in a desperate mood out of his bed to do himself or William [Hewer] some mischief. But the wench went down and got a candle lighted, and finding the boy in bed, and locking the doors fast, with a candle burning all night, we slept well, but with a great deal of fear.

30th. We found all well in the morning below stairs, but the boy in a sad plight of seeming sorrow ; but he is the most cunning rogue that ever I met with of his age. To White Hall, where I met with the Act of Indemnity (so long talked of and hoped for), with

the Act of Rate for Pole-money, and for judicial proceedings. This the first day that ever I saw my wife wear black patches since we were married. My Lord came to town to-day.

31st. To my office in Seething Lane, dined at home, and after dinner to my Lord, who told me that he is ordered to go suddenly to sea, and did give me some orders to be drawing up against his going.

September 1st. Dined at the Bullhead upon the best venison pasty that ever I eat of in my life, and with one dish more, it was the best dinner I ever was at. Here rose in discourse at table a dispute between Mr. Moore and Dr. Clerke, the former affirming that it was essential to a tragedy to have the argument of it true, which the Doctor denied, and left it to me to be judge, and the cause to be determined next Tuesday morning at the same place, upon the eating of the remains of the pasty, and the loser to pay 10s. All this afternoon sending express to the fleet, to order things against my Lord's coming: and taking direction of my Lord about some rich furniture to take along with him for the Princesse.¹ And talking of this, I hear by Mr. Townsend, that there is the greatest preparation against the Prince de Ligne's² coming

¹ The Princess of Orange. See note, page 117.

² Claude Lamoral, Prince de Ligne, had commanded the cavalry in the Low countries, was afterwards Viceroy of Sicily, and Governor of Milan. He died at Madrid in 1679. He had married, by dispensation, his cousin Maria Clara of Nassau, widow of his brother Albert Henry, who had died without issue. In our own time, his descendant, the Prince de Ligne,

over from the King of Spain, that ever was in England for their Ambassador.

2nd (Sunday). To chappell, where Dr. Fern, a good honest sermon upon "The Lord is my shield." After sermon a dull anthem, and so to my Lord's and dined. So to St. Margaret's, and heard a good sermon upon the text "Teach us the old way," or something like it, wherein he ran over all the new tenets in policy and religion, which have brought us into all our late divisions.

3rd. Up and to Mr. —, the goldsmith, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewell, which the King of Sweden did give my Lord : out of which my Lord had now taken the King's picture, and intends to make a George of it. About noon my Lord, having taken leave of the King in the Shield Gallery¹ (where I saw with what kindnesse the King did hugg my Lord at his parting), I went over with him and saw him in his coach at Lambeth, and there took leave of him, he going to the Downes. Mr. Cooke came back from my Lord for me to get him some things, a toilet cap and comb case of silk, to make use of in Holland, for he goes to the Hague.

4th. Looking over the joiners, who are flooring my dining-room, and doing business with Sir Williams, both at the office, and so to the Bullhead, where we had

was Ambassador Extraordinary from Belgium at the coronation of Queen Victoria.

¹ At Whitehall.

the remains of our pasty, where I did give my verdict against Mr. Moore upon last Saturday's wager, where Dr. Fuller coming in do confirm me in my verdict. So home by water, and there sat up late setting my papers in order, and teaching my wife her musique lesson, in which I take great pleasure. So to bed.

5th. To the office. Home to dinner, where I did so clear up my boy's¹ roguery to his father, that he could not speak against my putting him away, and so I did give him 10s. for the boy's clothes, and tore his indentures. This day I saw our Dedimus to be sworn in the peace by, which will be shortly. In the evening my wife being a little impatient I went along with her to buy her a necklace of pearle, which will cost 4*l.* 10s., which I am willing to comply with her in for her encouragement, and because I have lately got money, having now above 200*l.* in cash beforehand in the world. Home, and having in our way bought a rabbit and two little lobsters, my wife and I did sup late, and so to bed. Great newes now-a-day of the Duke d'Anjou's² desire to marry the Princesse Henrietta. Hugh Peters is said to be taken. The Duke of Gloucester is ill, and it is said it will prove the small-pox.

6th. Sir W. Batten told me how Commissioner Pett did pay himself for the entertainment that he did give the King at Chatham at his coming in, and 20s. a day

¹ See 30th June, 1660, and 29th Aug. 1660.

² Only brother to Louis XIV.; became Duke of Orleans on the death of his uncle.

all the time he was in Holland, which I wonder at, and so I see there is a great deal of envy between the two. I am unwilling to mix my fortune with him that is going down the wind. Sent all my books to my Lord's, in order to send them to my house that I now dwell in.

7th. This day my Lord set sail for Holland.

8th. At night sent for by Sir W. Pen, with whom I sat late drinking a glass of wine and discoursing, and I find him to be a very sociable man, and an able man, and very cunning.

9th (Sunday). In the morning with Sir W. Pen to church. Home to dinner, and Sir W. Pen with me to such as I had, and it was very handsome, it being the first time that he ever saw my wife or house since he came hither. Afternoon to church with my wife, and after that home, and there walked with Major Hart, who came to see me, in the garden, who tells me that we are all like to be speedily disbanded,¹ and then I lose the benefit of a muster.

10th (Office day). News of the Duke's intention to go to-morrow to the fleet for a day or two to meet his sister. Sent to hire two Catches for the present use of the Duke. So we landed at the Bear at the Bridge foot, where we saw Southwarke Fair, I having not at all seen Bartholemew Fair, and so to the Tower wharfe, where we did hire two catches.

11th. At Sir W. Batten's with Sir W. Pen we drank

¹ The train-bands.

our morning draft, and from thence for an hour in the office. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, and by this time I see that we are like to have a very good correspondence, but chargeable. At night I caused the girle to wash the wainscot of our parlour, which she did very well, which caused my wife and I good sport. The Duke of York did go to-day by break of day to the Downs. The Duke of Gloucester ill. The House of Parliament was to adjourn to-day.

12th (Office day). My brother Tom came to my house with a letter from my brother John, wherein he desires some books: Barthol. Anatom., Rosin. Rom. Antiqs., and Gassend. Astronomy, the last of which I did give him, and an angel against my father buying of the others. At home all the afternoon looking after my workmen, whose laziness do much trouble me.

13th. In the afternoon my wife went to the burial of a child of my cozen Scott's, and it is observable that within this month my Aunt Wight was brought to bed of two girles, my cozen Stradwick of a girle and a boy, and all died. Mr. Hawley did give me a little black rattoon,¹ painted and gilt. Home by water. This day the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, by the great negligence of the doctors.

14th (Office day). I got 42*l.* 15*s.* appointed me by bill for my employment of Secretary to the 4th of this month, it being the last money I shall receive upon

¹ Probably an Indian rattan cane.

that score. My wife went this afternoon to see my mother, who is very ill, at which my heart is very sad. In the afternoon Luellin, &c. came to my house, and he being drunk, and I being to defend the ladies from his kissing them, I kissed them myself very often with a great deal of mirth.

15th. To Westminster, where I met with Dr. Castles, who chidd me for some errors in our Privy-Seale business; among the rest, for letting the fees of the six judges pass unpaid, which I know not what to say to, till I speak to Mr. Moore. I was much troubled, for fear of being forced to pay the money myself. Called at my father's going home, and bespoke mourning for myself, for the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

16th (Sunday). To Dr. Hardy's church, and heard a good sermon upon the occasion of the Duke's death. His text was, "And is there any evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it?" Home to dinner, having some sport with Wm. Hewer, who never had been at Common Prayer before. My Lord of Oxford¹ is also dead of the small-pox; in whom his family dyes, after 600 years having that honour in their family and name. To the Park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pellmell, and in making a river through the Park, which I had never seen before since it was begun. Thence to White

¹ This must be a mistake for some other person, Robert, nineteenth Earl of Oxford, having died in 1632, and Aubrey de Vere, his successor, the twentieth Earl, living till 1703.

Hall garden, where I saw the King in purple¹ mourning for his brother. A gentleman in the Poultry had a great and dirty fall over a waterpipe that lay along the channel.

17th. I did give my wife 15*l.* this morning to go to buy mourning things for her and me, which she did. Went to see the Prince de Ligne, Spanish Ambassador, come in to his audience, which was done in very great state. I received 41*l.* for my interest in my house, and so I am freed of my poor little house. Home by link with my money under my arm. So to bed after I had looked over the things my wife had bought to-day, with which being not very well pleased, they costing too much, I went to bed in a discontent.

18th. By coach to Westminster Hall. So on foot home, by the way buying a hat band and other things for my mourning to-morrow. This day I heard that the Duke of York, upon the news of the death of his brother yesterday, came hither by post last night.

19th (Office day). I put on my mourning and went to the office. At noon I went to the Miter taverne² in Wood-streete (a house of the greatest note in London), where I met W. Symons, and D. Scobell, and their wives, Mr. Samford, Luellin, Chetwind, one Mr.

¹ "The Queen-mother of France," says Ward, in his "Diary," p. 177, "died at Agrippina, 1642, and her son Louis, 1643, for whom King Charles mourned in Oxford in *purple, which is prince's mourning.*" Query: When was the custom discontinued?

² Kept by William Proctor, who died insolvent of the plague in 1665. See *Diary*, 31st July, 1665. (M. B.)

Vivion, and Mr. White,¹ formerly chaplin to the Lady Protectresse² (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Francesse for his wife). Here some of us fell to handycapp,³ a sport that I never knew before, which was very good.

20th. At home, and at the office, and in the garden walking with both Sir Williams all the morning. After dinner to Major Hart's lodgings in Cannon-streete, who used me very kindly with wine and good discourse, particularly upon the ill method which Colonel Birch and the Committee use in defending of the army and the navy; promising the Parliament to save them a great deal of money, when we judge that it will cost the King more than if they had nothing to do with it, by reason of their delays and scrupulous enquirys into the account of both.

21st (Office day). There all the morning and afternoon till 4 o'clock. Thence to Whitehall. Back by water about 8 o'clock, and upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs, to go by water to Westminster, to

¹ According to Noble, Jeremiah White married Lady Frances Cromwell's waiting-woman, in Oliver's life-time, and they lived together fifty years. Lady Frances had two husbands, Mr. Robert Rich, and Sir John Russell, the last of whom she survived fifty-two years, dying 1721-2.

² Oliver Cromwell's wife.

³ "A game at cards not unlike Loo, but with this difference, the winner of one trick has to put in a double stake, the winner of two tricks a triple stake, and so on. Thus, if six persons are playing, and the general stake is 1s., suppose A gains the three tricks, he gains 6s., and has to 'hand i' the cap,' or pool, 4s. for the next deal. Suppose A gains two tricks and B one, then A gains 4s. and B 2s., and A has to stake 3s. and B 2s. for the next deal." — HINDLEY'S *Tavern Anecdotes*. (M. B.)

be buried. To the Hoope Taverne and sent for Mr. Chaplin, who with Nicholas Osborne and one Daniel came to us and we drank off two or three quarts of wine, which was very good ; the drawing of our wine causing a great quarrel in the house between the two drawers which should draw us the best, which caused a great deal of noise and falling out till the master parted them, and came up to us and did give us a large account of the liberty that he gives his servants, all alike, to draw what wine they will to please his customers ; and we did eat above 200 walnuts. Nicholas Osborne did give me a barrel of samphire, and showed me the keys of Mardyke Fort,¹ which he that was commander of the fort sent him as a token when the fort was demolished, which I was mightily pleased to see, and I will get them of him if I can.

22nd. This morning I called up my boy (my maid's brother, who was gone to bed, and I could not see him last night), and I found him a pretty, well-looking boy, and one that I think will please me. At the New Exchange I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning ; and here I met with The. Turner and Joyce, buying of things to go into mourning too for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in towne. This day Mr. Edw. Pickering is come from my Lord, and says that he left him well in Holland, and that he will be here within three or four days. To Westminster,

¹ A fort four miles east of Dunkirk, probably dismantled when that town was sold to Louis XIV.

where I bought a hanging jack. I had the boy up to-night for his sister to teach him to put me to bed, and I heard him read, which he did pretty well.

23rd (Lord's day). My wife got up to put on her mourning to-day and to go to Church this morning. I up and set down my journall for these 5 days past. This morning came one from my father's with a black cloth coat, made of my short cloak, to walk up and down in. To church my wife and I, with Sir W. Batten, where we heard of Mr. Mills a very good sermon upon these words, "So run that ye may obtain." To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and in Mr. Symons's pew I sat and heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint his word on the thumbs of our right hands and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afeard, and I wished myself out. This afternoon, the King having news of the Princesse being come to Margatte, he and the Duke of York went down thither in barges to her.

24th (Office day). From thence to dinner by coach with my wife to my Cozen Scott's. I arose from table and went to the Temple church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Sollicitor General's chambers, before him and Sir W. Wilde, Recorder of London (whom we sent for from his chamber) we were sworn justices of

peace for Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton ; with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased, though I am wholly ignorant in the duty of a justice of peace. From thence to my Lord's to enquire whether they have had any thing from my Lord or no. Knocking at the door, there passed by Mons. L'Impertinent [Mr. Butler] for whom I took a coach and went with him to a dancing meeting in Broad Street, at the house that was formerly the glass-house, Luke Channell Master of the School, where I saw good dancing, but it growing late, and the room very full of people and so very hot, I went home.

25th. To the office, where Sir W. Batten, Colonel Slingsby, and I sat awhile, and Sir R. Ford coming to us about some business, we talked together of the interest of this kingdom to have a peace with Spain and a war with France and Holland ; where Sir R. Ford talked like a man of great reason and experience. And afterwards I did send for a cup of tee ¹ (a China drink) of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princesse ² coming up the

¹ The *Mercurius Politicus* of September 30th, 1658, sets forth : " That excellent and by all Physicians, approved, China drink, called by the Chineans Tcha, by other nations Tay alias Tee, is sold at the Sultaness Head Coffee-House, in Sweetings Rents, by the Royal Exchange, London." Tea is said to have been occasionally sold in England as early as 1635 at the exorbitant price of from £6 to £10 the pound, and presents were made thereof to princes and grandees till the year 1657. The infusion of it in water was taxed by the gallon in common with chocolate and sherbet, 8*d.* a gallon each. (M. B.)

² " The Princess Royal came from Gravesend to Whitehall by water, attended by a noble retinue of about 100 persons, gentry, and servants, and

river this afternoon as we were at our pay). By coach to Westminster, to inquire for my Lord's coming thither, and I found him gone to Mr. Crew's, where I found him well. My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princesse and him (The Tredagh) did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship; but got off well. He told me also how the King had knighted Vice-Admiral Lawson and Sir Richard Stayner.

26th (Office day). That done to the church, to consult about our gallery. So home to dinner, and with the workmen all the afternoon, our house being in a most sad pickle. In the evening to the office, where I fell a-reading of Speed's geography for a while. So home thinking to have found Will at home, but he not being come home I was very angry, and when he came did give him a very great check for it, and so to bed.

28th (Office day). All the afternoon among my workmen till 10 or 11 at night, and did give them drink and very merry with them, it being my luck to meet with a sort of drolling workmen on all occasions.

29th. All day at home to make an end of our dirty work of the plasterers, and indeed my kitchen is now so handsome that I did not repent of all the trouble that I have been put to, to have it done. This day or

tradesmen, and tirewomen, and others, that took that opportunity to advance their fortunes, by coming in with so excellent a Princess as without question she is." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

yesterday, I hear, Prince Rupert ¹ is come to Court ; but welcome to nobody.

30th (Lord's day). To our Parish church both forenoon and afternoon all alone. At night went to bed without prayers, my house being every where foul above stairs.

October 1st. Early to my Lord to Whitehall. Dined at home, and after dinner with my father to the Miter, where I drank a glass of wine with Mr. Mansell, a poor Reformado ² of the Charles', who came to see me. The Commissioners are very busy disbanding of the army, which they say do cause great robbing. My layings out upon my house in furniture are so great that I fear I shall not be able to go through them without breaking one of my bags of 100*l.*, I having but 200*l.* yet in the world.

2nd. With Sir Wm. Pen by water to Whitehall, being visited before I went out by my brother Tom, who told me that for his lying out of doors a day and a night my father had forbade him to come any more into his house, at which I was troubled, and did soundly chide him for doing so, and upon confessing his fault I told him I would speak to my father. At Will's I met with Mr. Spicer, and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation already. So I see that religion, be it what it will, is but a humour, and so the esteem

¹ Son of Frederic, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards styled King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, only sister to Charles I. Ob. 1682.

² See p. 109.

of it passeth as other things do. From thence by coach to my father's, and discoursed with him about Tom, and did give my advice to take him home again, which I think he will do in prudence rather than put him upon learning the way of being worse. So home, where my wife tells me what she has bought to-day, namely, a bed and furniture for her chamber, with which very well pleased I went to bed.

3d. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to White Hall; and I saw it carried into the King's closet, where I saw most incomparable pictures. Among the rest a book open upon a desk, which I durst have sworn was a reall book. Back again to my Lord, and dined all alone with him, who did treat me with a great deal of respect; and after dinner did discourse an hour with me, and advise about some way to get himself some money to make up for all his great expenses, saying that he believed that he might have any thing that he would ask of the King. This day I heard the Duke speak of a great design that he and my Lord of Pembroke have, and a great many others, of sending a venture to some parts of Africa to dig for gold ore there. They intend to admit as many as will venture their money, and so make themselves a company. 250*l.* is the lowest share for every man. But I do not find that my Lord do much like it.

4th. I and Lieut. Lambert ¹ to Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen ² translated to the Arch-

¹ See June 7th, 1661, and Sept. 14th, 1664.

² Dr. Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

bishoprick of York. Here I saw the Bishops of Winchester,¹ Bangor,² Rochester,³ Bath and Wells,⁴ and Salisbury,⁵ all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's chappell. But, Lord ! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect. From thence to my Lord's to dinner, and after dinner Lieut. Lambert and I did look upon my Lord's model, and he told me many things in a ship that I desired to understand.

5th (Office day). Dined at home, and all the afternoon at home to see my painters make an end of their work, which they did to-day to my content.

6th. Col. Slingsby⁶ and I at the office getting a catch ready for the Prince de Ligne to carry his things away to-day, who is now going home again. About noon comes Mr. Creed, who brought me some books from Holland, well bound and good books, which I thought he did intend to give me, but I found that I must pay him. He dined with me and thence to Whitehall, where I was to give my Lord an account of the stacions and victualls of the fleet, in order to the choosing of a fleet fit for him to take to sea, to bring over the Queene.

7th (Lord's day). To White Hall on foot, calling

¹ Brian Duppa, translated from Salisbury.

² William Roberts.

³ John Warner, ob. 1666, aged 86.

⁴ William Pierce, translated from Peterborough, 1632.

⁵ Humphrey Henchman, afterwards Bishop of London.

⁶ Afterwards Sir Robert Slingsby.

at my father's to change my long black cloake for a short one (long cloakes being now quite out) ; but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr. Spurstow¹ preach before the King a poor dry sermon ; but a very good anthem of Captn. Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's and dined with him ; he all dinner time talking French to me, and telling me the story how the Duke of York hath got my Lord Chancellor's daughter with child, and that she do lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage, and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her cabinet. And that the King would have him to marry her, but that he will not.² So that the thing is very bad for the Duke, and them all ; but my Lord do make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing for the Duke to do abroad. I perceive my Lord is grown a man very indifferent in all matters of religion, and so makes nothing of these things. After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church-service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb's,² one of the prebends, in his habitt, came afterwards, and so all ended, and by my troth a pitiful sorry devotion that these men pay. So walked home by land, and before supper I read part of the

¹ William Spurstow, D.D. Vicar of Hackney and Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, both which pieces of preferment he lost for nonconformity, 1662.

² See May 6, 1661.

³ James Lamb, in 1662, made Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

Marian persecution in Mr. Fuller. So to supper, prayers, and to bed.

8th. Office day, and my wife being gone out to buy some household stuff, I dined all alone, and after dinner calling at several places about business, at my father's about gilded leather for my dining room. Then home and Mr. Moore with me, who staid and supped. We love one another's discourse so that we cannot part when we do meet.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Coll. Birch to Deptford, to pay off two ships. Sir W. Pen and I staid to do business, and afterwards together to White Hall, where I went to my Lord, and saw in his chamber his picture, very well done; and am with child till I get it copied out, which I hope to do when he is gone to sea. To Whitehall again, where at Mr. Coventry's chamber I met with Sir W. Pen again, and so with him to Redriffe by water, and from thence walked over the fields to Deptford, the first pleasant walk I have had a great while, and in our way had a great deal of merry discourse, and I find him to be a merry fellow and pretty good natured, and sings very loose songs. I found our gentlemen and Mr. Prin at the pay. About noon we dined together, and were very merry at table telling of tales. After dinner to the pay of another ship till 10 at night, and so home in our barge, a clear moonshine night, and it was 12 o'clock before we got home, where I found my wife in bed, and part of our chambers hung to-day by the upholster, but not being well done I was fretted,

and so in a discontent to bed. I found Mr. Prin a good, honest, plain man, but in his discourse not very free or pleasant. Among all the tales that passed among us to-day, he told us of one Damford, that, being a black man, did scald his beard with mincepie, and it came up again all white in that place, and continued to his dying day. Sir W. Pen told us a good jest about some gentlemen blinding of the drawer, and who he caught was to pay the reckoning, and so they got away, and the master of the house coming up to see what his man did, his man got hold of him, thinking it to be one of the gentlemen, and told him that he was to pay the reckoning.

10th. Office day all the morning. At night comes Mr. Moore and tells me how Sir Hards. Waller,¹ (who only pleads guilty), Scott, Coke,² Peters,³ Harrison, &c. were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, my Lord of Sandwich, &c.; such a bench of noblemen as had not been ever seen in England! They all seem to be dismayed, and will all be condemned without question. In Sir Orlando Bridgman's charge,⁴ he did wholly rip up the unjustnesse of the war against the King from the beginning, and so it

¹ Sir Hardress Waller, Knt., one of Charles 1st's Judges. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

² Coke was Solicitor to the people of England.

³ Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher.

⁴ Eldest son of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, became, after the Restoration, successively Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and was created a Baronet.

much reflects upon all the Long Parliament, though the King had pardoned them, yet they must hereby confess that the King do look upon them as traytors. To-morrow they are to plead what they have to say.

11th. In the morning to my Lord's, where I met with Mr. Creed, and with him and Mr. Blackburne to the Rhenish wine house, where we sat drinking of healths a great while, a thing which Mr. Blackburne formerly would not upon any terms have done. After we had done there Mr. Creed and I to the Leg in King Street, where he and I and my Will had a good udder to dinner, and from thence to walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr. Greatorex¹ brought, which is one round thing going within all with a pair of stairs round; round which being laid at an angle of 45° , do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr. Salisbury, who took Mr. Creed and me to the Cockpitt to see "The Moore of Venice," which was well done. Burt acted the Moore;² by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me, called out, to see Desdemona smothered. From thence with Mr. Creed to Hercules Pillars,³ where we drank and so parted, and I went home.

¹ A mathematical instrument-maker.

² Burt ranked in the list of good actors after the Restoration, though he resigned the part of Othello to Hart. *Davis's Dramatic Misc.*

³ In Fleet Street.

12th. Office day all the morning, and from thence with Sir W. Batten and the rest of the officers to a venison party of his at the Dolphin, where dined withal Col. Washington, Sir Edward Brett, and Major Norwood, very noble company. After dinner I went home, where I found Mr. Cooke, who told me that my Lady Sandwich is come to towne to-day, where-upon I went to Westminster to see her, and found her at supper, so she made me sit down all alone with her, and after supper staid and talked with her, she showing me most extraordinary love and kindness, and do give me good assurance of my uncle's resolution to make me his heir. From thence home and to bed.

13th. I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-general Harrison¹ hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross. From thence to my Lord's, and took Capt'n. Cuttance

¹ Thomas Harrison, son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Line, appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to White Hall, in order to his trial, and afterwards sat as one of his judges.

and Mr. Shepley to the Sun Taverne, and did give them some oysters. After that I went by water home, where I was angry with my wife for her things lying about, and in my passion kicked the little fine basket, which I bought her in Holland, and broke it, which troubled me after I had done it. Within all the afternoon setting up shelves in my study.

14th (Lord's day). To White Hall chappell, where one Dr. Crofts made an indifferent sermon, and after it an anthem, ill sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princesse Royall since she came into England. Here I also observed, how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit.

15th. Office all the morning. My wife and I by water; I landed her at Whitefriars, she went to my father's to dinner, it being my father's wedding day. This morning Mr. Carew¹ was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up. I was forced to go to my Lord's. So I dined there, and went to White Hall, where I met with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who with the Comptroller, Treasurer, and Mr. Coventry (at his chamber) made up a list of such ships as are fit to be kept out for the winter guard, and the rest to be paid off by the Parliament when they can get money, which I doubt will not be a great while. That done, I took

¹ John Carew, one of the regicides.

coach, and called my wife at my father's, and so home, where I fell to read "The Fruitless Precaution," a book formerly recommended by Dr. Clerke at sea to me, which I read in bed till I had made an end of it, and do find it the best writ tale that ever I read in my life.

16th. This morning my brother Tom came to me, with whom I made even for my last clothes to this day, and having eaten a dish of anchovies with him in the morning, my wife and I did intend to go forth to see a play at the Cockpit this afternoon, but Mr. Moore coming to me, my wife staid at home, and so with him to the Cockpit, where, understanding that "Wit without money" was acted, I would not stay, but went home. Being come home, Will. told me that my Lord had a mind to speak with me to-night; so I returned by water, and, coming there, it was only to enquire how the ships were provided with victuals that are to go with him to fetch over the Queene, which I gave him a good account of. He seemed to be in a melancholy humour, which, I was told by W. Howe, was for that he had lately lost a great deal of money at cards, which he fears he do too much addict himself to now-a-days.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker¹ and Axtell² should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprieved till to-morrow. So to my father's, and did give orders for a pair of black

¹ Col. Francis Hacker commanded the guards at the King's execution.

² Axtell had guarded the High Court of Justice.

baize linings to be made me for my breeches. At my coming home I did find that The. Turner hath sent for a pair of doves that my wife had promised her; and because she did not send them in the best cage, she sent them back again with a scornful letter, with which I was angry, but yet pretty well pleased that she was crossed.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with greene serge hanging and gilt leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered, as the rest are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against to-morrow for my Lord.

20th. I dined with my Lord and Lady; he was very merry, and did talk very high how he would have a French cooke, and a master of his horse, and his lady and child to wear black patches; which methought was strange, but he is become a perfect cour-tier; and, among other things, my Lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem., he answered, that he would rather see her with a ped-lar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen. This afternoon, going through London, and calling at Crowe's¹ the upholsterer's, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw the limbs of some of our new traytors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

¹ He is called "Alderman," *post*, Oct. 15, 1668.

21st (Lord's day). To the Parish church in the morning, where a good sermon by Mr. Mills. After dinner to the Abbey, where I met George Vines, who carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traytor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly, as also a very fair prospect about London. To-day at noon (God forgive me) I strung my lute, which I had not touched a great while before.

22nd. Office day; after that to dinner at home upon some ribs of roast beef from the Cook's. After dinner to my Lord's, where I found all preparing for my Lord's going to sea to fetch the Queene to-morrow. At night my Lord came home, with whom I staid long, and talked of many things. Among others I got leave to have his picture, that was done by Lilly,¹ copied. Talking of religion, I found him to be a perfect Sceptic, and he said that all things would not be well while there was so much preaching, and that it would be better if nothing but Homilies were to be read in Churches. He told me there hath been a meeting before the King and my Lord Chancellor, of some Episcopalian and Presbyterian Divines; but what had passed he could not tell me.

23rd. We rose early in the morning to get things ready for my Lord, and Mr. Shepley going to put

¹ Peter Lely, afterwards knighted. He lived in the Piazza. This portrait of Lord Sandwich was bought by Lord Braybrooke at Mr Pepys Cockerell's sale, in 1848, and is now at Audley End.

up his pistols, which were charged with bullets, into the holsters, one of them flew off, and it pleased God that, the mouth of the gun being downwards, it did us no hurt, but I think I never was in more danger in my life, which put me into a great fright. About eight o'clock my Lord went; and going through the garden my Lord met with Mr. William Montagu, who told him of an estate of land lately come into the King's hands, that he had a mind my Lord should beg. To which end my Lord writ a letter presently to my Lord Chancellor to do it for him, which (after leave taken of my Lord at White Hall bridge) I did carry to Warwick House to him; and had a fair promise of him, that he would do it this day for my Lord. In my way thither I met the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges riding on horseback and going to Westminster Hall, it being the first day of the terme, which was the first time I ever saw any such solemnity. Thence I met with Catan Stirpin in mourning, who told me that her mistress was lately dead of the small pox, and that she was now married to Monsieur Petit. I found by a letter that she shewed of her husband's to the King, that he is a right Frenchman, and full of their own projects, he having a design to reform the universities, and to institute schools for the learning of all languages, to speak them naturally and not by rule, which I know will come to nothing. To my Lord's, from thence I took my Lord's picture, and carried it to Mr. de Cretz to be copied. So to White Hall, where I met Mr. Spong, and went home with

him and played, and sang, and eat with him and his mother. After supper we looked over many books, and instruments of his, especially his wooden jack in his chimney, which goes with the smoke, which indeed is very pretty. I found him to be as ingenious and good-natured a man as ever I met with in my life, and cannot admire him enough, he being so plain and illiterate a man as he is.

24th (Office day). I took occasion to be angry with my wife before I rose about her putting up of half a crowne of mine in a paper box, which she had forgot where she had lain it. But we were friends again as we are always. To the office, so home to dinner, where I found Captain Murford, who did put 3*l.* into my hands for a friendship I had done him, but I would not take it, but bade him keep it till he has enough to buy my wife a necklace. To White Hall, in my way met with Mr. Moore. He tells me, among other things, that the Duke of York is now sorry for his amour with my Lord Chancellor's daughter, who is now brought to bed of a boy. To Mr. Lilly's¹ where, not finding Mr. Spong, I went to Mr. Greateorex, where I met him, and so to an ale-house, where I bought of him a drawing pen; and he did show me the manner of the lamp-glasses, which carry the light a great way, good to read in bed by, and I intend to have one of them. So to Mr. Lilly's with Mr. Spong, where well received, there being a

¹ William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker.

clubb to-night among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole,¹ who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study. That done, we all parted ; and I home by coach, taking Mr. Booker² with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for writing to please his friends and to keep in with the times (as he did formerly to his own dishonour), and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre, as he had done. I set him down at Lime-street end, and so home, where I found a box of Carpenter's tools sent by my cozen, Thomas Pepys, which I had bespoke of him for to employ myself with sometimes. To bed.

25th. All day at home doing something in order to the fitting of my house. In the evening to Westminster about business.

26th (Office). My father and Dr. Thomas Pepys dined at my house, the last of whom I did almost fox with Margate ale. My father is mightily pleased with my ordering of my house. After that I to Westminster to White Hall, where I saw the Duke de Soissons³ go from his audience with a very great deal

¹ Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian.

² Pepys surely wrote Rooker by mistake, for James Booker, of Manchester, the astrologer, then living, and mentioned in "*Hudibras*," in connection with Lilly, canto iii. 1093.

³ Eugene Maurice of Savoy, youngest son of Thomas of Savoy, by Marie de Bourbon, Countess of Soissons, whose title he inherited. He married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, more than suspected of poisoning practices (like the Brinvilliers). His youngest son was the celebrated General, Prince Eugene of Savoy.

of state : his own coach all red velvet covered with gold lace, and drawn by six barbes, and attended by twenty pages very rich in clothes. To Westminster Hall, and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queene, which I read at home to my wife ; but it was so sillily writ, that we did nothing but laugh at it : among other things it is dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albe-marle. Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor's daughter.

27th. I went by chance by my new Lord Mayor's house (Sir Richard Browne), by Goldsmith's Hall, which is now fitting, and indeed is a very pretty house. In coming back I called at Paul's Church-yard and bought Alsted's Encyclopædia, which cost me 38s.

28th (Lord's day). To Westminster Abbey, where with much difficulty, going round by the cloysters, I got in ; this day being a great day for the consecrating of five Bishoppes, which was done after sermon ; but I could not get into Henry the Seventh's chappell. So I went to my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, and my young Lord, and Mr. Sidney, who was sent for from Twickenham to see my Lord Mayor's show to-morrow. After dinner to White Hall chappell ; my Lady and my Lady Jemimah and I up to the King's closet (who is now gone to meet the Queene). So meeting with one Mr. Hill, that did know my Lady, he did take us into the King's closet, and there we

did stay all service-time, which I did think a great honour.

29th. I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day¹ (Sir Richd. Browne), and neglecting my office I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children; and after drinking of some strange and incomparable good clarett of Mr. Rumball's² he and Mr. Townsend² did take us, and set the young Lords at one Mr. Nevill's, a draper in Paul's churchyard; and my Lady and my Lady Pickering³ and I to one Mr. Isaacson's, a linen-draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd. The show being done, we got as far as Paul's with much ado, where I left my Lady in the coach, and went on foot with my Lady Pickering to her lodging, which was a poor one in Blackfryars, where she never invited me to go in at all, which me thought was very strange. Home, where I was told how my Lady Davis is now come to our next lodgings, and has locked up the leades door from me, which puts me into so great a disquiet that I went to bed, and could not sleep till morning at it.

¹ Now, by alteration of the style, November 9th.

² Officers of the Wardrobe.

³ Elizabeth Montagu, sister to the Earl of Sandwich, who had married Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and of Tichmersh, co. Northampton.

30th. Within all the morning, my mind being so troubled that I could not mind nor do anything till I spoke to the Comptroller to whom the lodgings belong. In the afternoon, to ease my mind, I went to the Cockpit all alone, and there saw a very fine play called "The Tamer tamed;"¹ very well acted. That being done, to the Hercules Pillars to drink, where we did read over the King's declaration in matters of religion, which is come out to-day, which is very well penned, I think to the satisfaction of most people. I hear nothing yet of my Lord, whether he be gone for the Queene from the Downes or no; but I believe he is, and that he is now upon coming back again.

31st (Office day). Much troubled all this morning in my mind about the business of my walk on the leades, but the comptroller and the rest of the principal officers are all unwilling to meddle in anything that may anger my Lady Davis.² Home, and there I had news that Sir W. Pen is resolved to ride to Sir W. Batten's country house³ to-morrow, and would have me go with him, so I sat up late, getting together my things to ride in, and was fain to cut an old pair of boots to make leathers for those I was to wear. This month I conclude with my mind very heavy for the loss of the leades, as also for the greatness of my late

¹ "The Woman's Prize, or Tamer Tamed," a comedy by John Fletcher.

² Wife of Mr. Davis, belonging to the Navy Office. The appellation of "my Lady" is used in the same sense as the French word *Madame*.

³ At Walthamstow.

expenses, insomuch that I do not think that I have above 150*l.* clear money in the world, but I have, I believe, got a great deal of good household stuff. I hear to-day that the Queene is landed at Dover, and will be here on Friday next, November 2nd.

November 1st. This morning Sir W. Pen and I were mounted early, and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company. We came to Sir W. Batten's, where he lives like a prince, and we were made very welcome. Among other things he showed us my Lady's closet, where was great store of rarities; as also a chair, which he calls King Harry's chaire, where he that sits down is catched with two irons, that come round about him, which makes good sport. Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be — "The memory of the wicked shall rot"); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time. He did make us good sport in imitating Mr. Case,¹ Ash, and Nye, the minis-

¹ Thomas Case, one of the Assembly of Divines, and some time rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields. Ob. 1682, aged 84. Simeon Ash, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers. Philip Nye, who had been minister of Kimbolton, and rector of Acton, Middlesex, retired after his nonconformity, and died in 1672.

ters, but a deadly drinker he is, and grown exceeding fat. From his house to an ale-house near the church, where we sat and drank and were merry, and so we mounted for London again, Sir W. Batten with us. So home by moonlight.

2nd. Office. Then dined at home, and by chance Mr. Holliard called at dinner time and dined with me, with whom I had great discourse concerning the cure of the King's evil, which he do deny altogether any effect at all. In the afternoon I went forth and saw some silver bosses put upon my new Bible, which cost me 6*s.* 6*d.* the making, and 7*s.* *d.* the silver, which, with 9*s.* 6*d.*, the book comes in all to 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* From thence with Mr. Cooke that made them, and Mr. Stephens the silversmith to the taverne, and did give them a pint of wine. So to White Hall, where I saw the boats going very thick to Lambeth, and all the stairs to be full of people. I was told the Queen¹ was a-coming; so I got a sculler for sixpence to carry me thither and back again, but I could not get to see the Queen; so come back, and to my Lord's, where he was come; and I supt with him, he being very merry, telling merry stories of the country mayors, how they entertained the King all the way as he come along; and how the country gentlewomen did hold

¹ "Nov. 2. The Queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta came into London, the Queen having left this land nineteen years ago. Her coming was very private, Lambeth-way, where the King, Queen, and the Duke of York, and the rest, took water, crossed the Thames, and all safely arrived at Whitehall." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

up their heads to be kissed by the King, not taking his hand to kiss as they should do. I took leave of my Lord and Lady, and so took coach at White Hall and carried Mr. Childe¹ as far as the Strand, and myself got as far as Ludgate by all the bonfires, but with a great deal of trouble; and there the coachman desired that I would release him, for he durst not go further for the fires. So he would have had a shilling or 6*d.* for bringing of me so far; but I had but 3*d.* about me and did give him it. In Paul's church-yard I called at Kirton's,² and there they had got a masse book for me, which I bought and cost me twelve shillings; and, when I came home, sat up late and read in it with great pleasure to my wife, to hear that she was long ago acquainted with that. So to bed. I observed this night very few bonfires in the City, not above three in all London, for the Queene's coming; whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

3*d.* Saturday. At home all the morning. In the afternoon to White Hall, where my Lord and Lady were gone to kiss the Queene's hand.

4*th* (Lord's day). In the morn to our own church,³ where Mr. Mills⁴ did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying "Glory be to the Father, &c." after

¹ Afterwards Sir Joshua Childe.

² A bookseller. See Dec. 23, 1661.

³ St. Olave's, Hart Street.

⁴ Daniel Milles, D.D., thirty-two years rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and buried there October, 1689, aged sixty-three. In 1667 Sir Robert Brooks presented him to the rectory of Wanstead, which he also held till his death.

he had read the two psalms ; but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer. This declaration of the King's do give the Presbyterians some satisfaction, and a pretence to read the Common Prayer, which they would not do before because of their former preaching against it. After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord's, and having spoke with him, I went to the Abby, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral. Thence to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and with him and Mr. Shepley to see the seven Flanders mares that my Lord has bought lately, in our way calling at the Bell, where we drank several bottles of Hull ale. Hence to my father's, where I found my mother in greater and greater pain of the stone. So home and to bed. My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to weare a black patch.¹

5th (Office day). Being disappointed of money, we failed of going to Deptford to pay off the Henrietta to-day. At the office at night, to make up an account of what the debts of nineteen of the twenty-five ships that should have been paid off, is increased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again to-morrow. This 5th of November is observed exceeding well in the City ; and at night great bonfires and fireworks.

6th. In the morning with Sir W. Batten and Pen

¹ In 1602 it was fashionable to wear patches on the temples. — BUCKLE'S *Com. Place Book*, vol. ii. p. 128. (M. B.)

by water to Westminster, and thence to the Hall, where we found the Parliament met to-day, and thence meeting with Mr. Chetwind, I took them to the Sun, and did give them a barrel of oysters, and had good discourse; among other things Mr. Chetwind told me how he did fear that this late business of the Duke of York's would prove fatal to my Lord Chancellor. To our office, where we met all, for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind), where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry,¹ and we have much to do to tell who did cry last. The ships were the Indian, sold for 1300*l.* and the Half-moone, sold for 830*l.* Home, and fell a-reading of the tryalls of the late men that were hanged for the King's death, and found good satisfaction in reading thereof. At night to bed, and my wife and I did fall out about the dog's being put down into the cellar, which I had a mind to have done because of his fouling the house, and I would have my will, and so we went to bed and lay all night in a quarrel. This night I was troubled all night with a dream that my wife was dead, which made me that I slept ill all night.

7th (Office day). Went by water to my Lord, where I dined with him, and he in a very merry humour (present Mr. Borfett and Childe) at dinner: he, in discourse of the great opinion of the virtue —

¹ *i. e.*, bid.

gratitude (which he did account the greatest thing in the world to him, and had, therefore, in his mind been often troubled in the late times how to answer his gratitude to the King, who raised his father), did say it was that did bring him to his obedience to the King; and did also bless himself with his good fortune, in comparison to what it was when I was with him in the Sound, when he durst not own his correspondence with the King; which is a thing that I never did hear of to this day before; and I do from this raise an opinion of him, to be one of the most secret men in the world, which I was not so convinced of before. After dinner he bid all go out of the room, and did tell me how the King had promised him 4000*l.* per annum for ever, and had already given him a bill under his hand (which he showed me) for 4000*l.* that Mr. Fox¹ is to pay him. My Lord did advise with me how to get this received, and to put out 3000*l.* into safe hands at use, and the other he will make use of for his present occasion. This he

¹ Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox. He was born in 1627, and is said to have belonged to the children's choir in Salisbury Cathedral. He was the first person to announce the death of Cromwell to Charles II. At the Restoration he was made First Clerk of the Green Cloth. He was soon afterwards appointed Paymaster to two newly raised regiments, and soon after that he was constituted Paymaster General of all his Majesty's forces in England. In 1665 he was knighted. Evelyn says, "Diary," 6th, 1680: "Sir Stephen's lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen; he is a handsome person, virtuous, and very religious." He was one of the earliest projectors of Chelsea Hospital. He died in 1716 at his villa at Chiswick. Ninety years later his grandson, Charles James Fox, died in the same place. (M. B.)

did advise with me about with much secrecy. After all this he called for the fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe, and Mr. Childe, did sing and play some psalmes of Will. Lawes's,¹ and some songs; and so I went away. So I went to see my Lord's picture, which is almost done, and do please me very well. Hence to Whitehall to find out Mr. Fox, who did use me very civilly, but I did not see his lady, whom I had so long known when she was a mayde, Mrs. Whittle. From thence meeting my father Bowyer, I took him to Mr. Harper's, and there drank with him. Among other things in discourse he told me how my wife's brother had a horse at grass with him, which I was troubled to hear, it being his boldness upon my score. Home by coach. Notwithstanding this was the first day of the King's proclamation² against hackney coaches³ coming into the streets to stand to be hired, yet I got one to carry me home.

8th. This morning Sir Wm. and the Treasurer and I went by barge with Sir W. Doyley and Mr. Prin to Deptford, to pay off the Henrietta, and had a good dinner. In the afternoon Commissioner Pett and I

¹ Brother to Henry Lawes the celebrated composer, and himself a chamber musician to Charles I., in whose service he took up arms, and was killed at the siege of Chester, 1645. The King regretted his loss severely, and used to call him the father of music.

² For the Proclamation see "Notes and Queries," First Series, vol. viii. p. 122. (M. B.)

³ "In April, 1663, the poor widows of hackney-coachmen petitioned for some relief, as the Parliament had reduced the number of coaches to 400; there were before, in and about London, more than 2,000."—RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

went on board the yacht,¹ which indeed is one of the finest things that ever I saw for neatness and room in so small a vessel. Mr. Pett is to make one to outdo this for the honour of his country, which I fear he will scarce better. So went with some men that were going that way a great pace, and in our way we met with many merry seamen that had got their money paid them to-day. We got to London before two in the morning. So home, where I found my wife up, she shewed me her head which was very well dressed.

9th. Lay long in bed this morning. To the office, and from thence to dinner at the Hoope Taverne, our dinner given us by Mr. Ady and another, Mr. Wine, the King's fishmonger. Good sport with Mr. Talbot, who eats no sort of fish, and there was nothing else till we sent for a neat's tongue. From thence to Whitehall where I found my Lord, who had an organ set up to-day in his dining-room, but it seems an ugly one in the form of Bridewell. Thence I went to Sir Harry Wright's, where my Lord was busy at cards, and so I staid below with Mrs. Carter and Evans, who did give me a lesson upon the lute, till he came down, and having talked with him at the door about his late business of money, I went to my father's and staid late talking with my father about my sister Pall's coming to live with me if she would come and be as a servant (which my wife did seem to be pretty will-

¹ See *ante*, Aug. 15th, and *post*, Jan. 13th, 1660-61.

ing to do to-day), and he seems to take very well, and intends to consider of it. Home and to bed.

10th. Up early. Sir Wm. Batten and I to make up an account of the wages of the officers and mariners at sea, ready to present to the Committee of Parliament this afternoon. Afterwards came the Treasurer and Comptroller, and sat all the morning till the business was done. The Comptroller¹ and I to the coffee-house, where he shewed me the state of his case; how the King did owe him about 6000*l*. But I do not see great likelihood for them to be paid, since they begin already in Parliament to dispute the paying of the just sea-debts, which were already promised to be paid, and will be the undoing of thousands if they be not paid. So to Paul's Churchyard, and there bought Montelion,² which this year do not prove so good as the last was; so after reading it I burnt it. After reading of that and the comedy of the Rump,³ which is also very silly, I went to bed. This night going home, Will and I bought a goose.

11th (Lord's day). To Church into our new gallery, the first time it was used. There being no

¹ Sir Robert Slingsby, whose father, Sir Guildford Slingsby, had held the same office.

² "Montelion, the Prophetical Almanac for the year 1660, 8vo., with a frontispiece, by John Phillips." The Montelions for 1661 and 1662 were written by Thomas Flatman. It would appear that Pepys bought the Montelion for 1661, as there had not been one for 1659.—See WATT's *Bibliotheca*.

³ "The Rump, or the Mirror of the late Times," a comedy, by John Tatham.

woman this day, we sat in the foremost pew, and behind us our servants, and I hope it will not always be so, it not being handsome for our servants to sit so equal with us. This day also did Mr. Mills begin to read all the Common Prayer, which I was glad of. Went to my father's where I found my wife, and there supped, and after supper we walked home, my little boy carrying a link, and Will leading my wife. So home and to prayers and to bed. I went to Mr. Fox's at Whitehall, when I first saw his lady, formerly Mrs. Elizabeth Whittle, whom I had formerly a great opinion of, and did make an anagram or two upon her name when I was a boy. She proves a very fine lady, and mother to fine children. To-day I agreed with Mr. Fox about my taking of the 4000*l.* of him that the King had given my Lord.

12th. Mr. Comptroller and I sat a while at the office, and thence I went with him to his house in Lime Street, a fine house, and where I never was before. I met with Jack Spicer and agreed with him to help me to tell money this afternoon. So back to the Hall, where by appointment I met the Comptroller, and with him and three or four Parliament-men I dined at Heaven.¹ From thence walked to my father's, where I found my wife, who had been with

¹ *Heaven* and *Hell* were two mean ale-houses abutting on Westminster Hall. There was another called *Purgatory*. See Ben Jonson:

“Nor break his fast
In Heaven and Hell.”

The Alchemist, act v. sc. ii. (M. B.)

my father to-day, buying of a table-cloth and a dozen of napkins of diaper, the first that ever I bought in my life. My father and I discoursed seriously about my sister's coming to live with me, which I have much mind for her good to have, and yet I am much afeard of her ill-nature. He and I, and my wife, my mother and Pall, went all together into the little room, and there I told her plainly what my mind was, to have her come not as a sister in any respect, but as a servant,¹ which she promised me that she would, and with many thanks did weep for joy.

13th. Early going to my Lord's I met with Mr. Moore, and indeed I found him to be a most careful, painful,² and able man in business, and took him by water to the Wardrobe, and shewed him all the house ; and indeed there is a great deal of room in it, but very ugly till my Lord hath bestowed great cost upon it. So home to dinner, where I found my wife making of pies and tarts to try her oven with, but not knowing the nature of it, did heat it too hot, and so a little overbake her things, but knows how to do better another time.

14th (Office day). But this day was the first that we do begin to sit in the afternoon, and not in the forenoon, and therefore I went into Cheapside to Mr. Beauchamp's, the goldsmith, to look out a piece of plate to give Mr. Fox from my Lord, for his favour about the 4000*l.*, and did choose a gilt tankard. So

¹ See *post*, Jan. 2, 1660-61.

² See note 17th March, 1661. (M. B.)

to Paul's Churchyard and bought "Cornelianum Dolum." So home to dinner, and then to the office till late at night, and so Sir W. Pen, the Comptroller, and I to the Dolphin, where we found Sir W. Batten, and there we did drink a great quantity of sack and did tell many merry stories.

15th. To Westminster, and it being very cold upon the water I went all alone to the Sun and drank a draft of mulled wine. My Lord did this day show me the King's picture which was done in Flanders, that the King did promise my Lord before he ever saw him, and that we did expect to have had at sea before the King came to us ; but it came but to-day, and indeed it is the most pleasant and the most like him that ever I saw picture in my life. As dinner was coming on table, my wife came to my Lord's, and I got her carried in to my Lady, who was just now hiring of a French mayde that was with her, and they could not understand one another till my wife came to interpret. Here I did leave my wife to dine with my Lord, the first time he ever did take notice of her as my wife, and did seem to have a just esteem for her. To Sir W. Batten's to dinner, he having a couple of servants married to-day ; and so there was a great number of merchants, and others of good quality on purpose after dinner to make an offering, which, when dinner was done, we did, and I did give ten shillings and no more, though I believe most of the rest did give more, and did believe that I did so too. From thence to Mr. Fox and by two porters

carried away the other 1000*l*. He was not within himself, but I had it of his kinsman, and did give him 4*l*. and other servants something ; but whereas I did intend to have given Mr. Fox himself a piece of plate of 50*l*. I was demanded 100*l*., for the fee of the office at 6*d*. a pound, at which I was surprised, but, however, I did leave it there till I speak with my Lord. My wife I found much satisfied with my Lord's discourse and respect to her, and so after prayers to bed.

16th. Up early to my father's, where by appointment Mr. Moore came to me, and he and I to the Temple, and thence to Westminster Hall to speak with Mr. Wm. Montagu upon the title of those lands which I do take as security for 3000*l*. of my Lord's money. That being done Mr. Moore and I parted, and in the Hall I met with Mr. Fontleroy, my old acquaintance, whom I had not seen a long time, and he and I to the Swan, and in discourse he seems to be wise and say little, though I know things are changed against his mind. Thence home by water, where my father, Mr. Snow, and Moore did dine with me. After dinner Mr. Snow and I went up together to discourse about the putting out of 80*l*. to a man who lacks the money and would give me 15*l*. per annum for 8 years for it, which I did not think profit enough, and so he seemed to be disappointed by my refusal of it, but I would not now part with my money easily. He seems to do it as a great favour to me to offer to come in upon a way of getting of money, which they call Bot-

tomry, which I do not yet understand, but do believe there may be something in it of great profit. After we were parted I went to the office, and there we sat all the afternoon, and at night we went to a barrel of oysters at Sir W. Batten's.

17th. In the morning to Whitehall, where I inquired at the Privy Seale Office for a form for a nobleman to make one his Chaplain. But I understanding that there is not any, I did draw up one, and so to my Lord's, and there I did give him it to sign for Mr. Turner to be his first Chaplain. I did also get my Lord to sign my last sea accounts. I dined with my Lord and my Lady Pickering, where her son John dined with us, who do continue a fool as he ever was since I knew him. His mother would fain marry him to get a portion for his sister Betty, but he will not hear of it. Hither came Major Hart this noon, who tells me that the Regiment is now disbanded, and that there is some money coming to me for it. Thence with Mr. Moore to the Devil Taverne ¹ and there we drank. So home and wrote letters by the post. Then to my lyre viall, and to bed.

18th (Lord's day). In the morning to our own church, where Mr. Powel (a crooke legged man that went formerly with me to Paul's Schoole), preached a good sermon. In the afternoon to our own church and my wife with me (the first time that she and my Lady Batten came to sit in our new pew), and after

¹ *Devil Taverne*. See note, 22nd April, 1661. (M. B.)

sermon my Lady took us home and there we supped with her and Sir W. Batten, and Pen and I were much made of. The first time that ever my wife was there. So home and to bed.

19th (Office day). I went with the Treasurer¹ in his coach to White Hall, and in our way, in discourse, do find him a very good-natured man; and, talking of those men who now stand condemned for murdering the King, he says that he believes that, if the law would give leave, the King is a man of so great compassion that he would wholly acquit them. Going to my Lord's I met with Mr. Shepley, and so he and I to the Sun, and I did give him a morning draft of Muscadine.² After that, hearing that Sir W. Batten was at the Leg in the Palace, I went thither, and there dined with him and some of the Trinity House men who had obtained something to-day at the House of Lords concerning the Ballast Office. After dinner I went by water to London to the Globe in Cornhill, and there did choose two pictures to hang up in my house. To the office and so home, and there came Mr. Beauchamp to me with the gilt tankard, and I did pay him for it 20*l*. So to my musique and sat up late at it, and so to bed, leaving my wife to sit up till 2 o'clock that she may call the wench up to wash.

¹ Sir George Carteret.

² *Muscadine* or *muscadel*, a rich sort of wine. *Vinum muscatum quod moschi odorem referat.*

"Quaffed off the *muscadel*, and threw the sops
All in the sexton's face."

SHAKESPEARE, *Taming of the Shrew*, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

20th. To my Lord, and then to the organ, where Mr. Childe and one Mr. Mackworth were playing, and so we played till dinner, where my Lord in a very good humour and kind to me. Then Mr. Shepley and I to the new play-house¹ near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of "Beggar's Bush"² was newly begun; and so we went in and saw it, it was well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone,³ who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princesse, at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play,⁴ where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's⁵ musique, he bidding them stop and bade the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours. While my Lord was rising, I went to Mr. Fox's, and there did leave the gilt tankard for Mrs. Fox, and then to the counting-house to

¹ Killigrew's, or the King's House, opened for the first time, 8th Nov. 1660.

² The "Beggar's Bush," a comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

³ Mohun, or Moone, the celebrated actor, who had borne a Major's commission in the King's Army. The period of his death is uncertain.

⁴ Sir John Denham wrote the Prologue, of which there is a contemporary copy in the British Museum.

⁵ John Singleton, appointed, 1660, one of the musicians of the sackbuts in place of William Lanier. From the sackbut he advanced to the violin, and lastly to the flute. He is mentioned by Dryden in "Mac Flecknoe," and by Shadwell in "Bury Fair." He died 1686, and was buried (7th April) in the churchyard of St. Paul's Covent Garden.

him, who hath invited me and my wife to dine with him on Thursday next, and so to see the Queene and Princesses.

21st. This morning my cozen Thomas Pepys, the turner, sent me a cupp of lignum vitæ for a token. My wife and I went to Paternoster Rowe, and there we bought some greene watered moyre for a morning wastecoate. And after that we went to Mr. Cade's to choose some pictures for our house. After that my wife went home, and I to Pope's Head,¹ and bought me an aggate hafted knife, which cost me 5s. At night to my viallin (the first time that I have played on it since I came to this house) in my dining roome, and afterwards to my lute there, and I took much pleasure to have the neighbours come forth into the yard to hear me. So to supper, and sent for the barber, so up to bed, leaving my wife to wash herself, and to do other things against to-morrow to go to court.

22d. This morning came the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry. At noon my wife and I walked to the Old Exchange, and there she bought her a white whisk² and put it on, and I a pair of gloves, and so we took coach for Whitehall to Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox³ within, and an alderman of London paying

¹ Pope's Head Alley was at this time famous for its cutlers. See 20th June, 1662.

² *Whisk.* A sort of neck-dress, formerly worn by women. (M. B.)

³ Elizabeth, daughter of William Whittle, Esq., of Lancashire, wife of Stephen Fox, Esq., who was knighted in 1665.

1000*l.* or 1400*l.* in gold upon the table for the King, which was the most gold that ever I saw together in my life. Mr. Fox came in presently and did receive us with a great deal of respect ; and then did take my wife and I to the Queene's presence-chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queene's chaire, and the two Princesses came to dinner. The Queene a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garbe than any ordinary woman. The Princesse of Orange I had often seen before. The Princesse Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation ; and her dressing of herself with her haire frized short up to her eares, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she. Dinner being done, we went to Mr. Fox's again, where many gentlemen dined with us, and most princely dinner all provided for me and my friends, but I bringing none but myself and wife, he did call the company to help to eate up so much good victualls. At the end of dinner, my Lord Sandwich's health was drunk in the gilt tankard that I did give to Mrs. Fox the other day. Thence I took coach for my wife and me homewards, and I light at the Maypole in the Strand, and sent my wife home. I to the new playhouse and saw part of the "Traitor," a very good Tragedy ; Mr. Moon did act the Traitor very well. Thence to White Hall at about 9 at night, and there, with Laud the page that went with me, we

could not get out of Henry the Eighth's gallery into the further part of the boarded gallery, where my Lord was walking with my Lord Ormond; and we had a key of Sir S. Morland's, but all would not do; till at last, by knocking, Mr. Harrison the door-keeper did open us the door, and, after some talk with my Lord about getting a catch¹ to carry my Lord St. Alban's² goods to France, I parted and went home on foot.

24th. Creed and Shepley and I to the Rhenish winehouse,³ and there I did give them two quarts of Wormwood⁴ wine, and so we broke up. To my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, there being Mr. Childe and Mrs. Borkett, who are never absent at dinner there, under pretence of a wooing. From thence I to Mr. de Cretz and did take away my Lord's picture, which is now finished for me, and I paid 3*l.* 10*s.* for it and the frame, and am well pleased with it and the price. So carried it home, and there had a fire in my closet, and fell to entering these two good songs of Mr. Lawes, "Helpe, helpe, O helpe," and "O God of Heaven and Hell" in my song book, to which I have got Mr. Childe to set the base to the Theorbo, and that done to bed.

25th (Lord's day). In the forenoon I alone to our

¹ See *ante*, 6th Sept.

² Henry Jermyn, created Lord Jermyn 1614, advanced to the Earldom of St. Alban's 1660, K.G. Ob. 1683, s. p. He was supposed to be married to the Queen Dowager.

³ See *ante*, August 9th.

⁴ The *Crème d'absinthe* is still a liqueur much liked in France.

church, and after dinner I went and ranged about to many churches, among the rest to the Temple, where I heard Dr. Wilkins¹ a little (late Maister of Trinity in Cambridge). I had a letter brought me from my Lord to get a ship ready to carry the Queene's things over to France, she being to go within five or six days.

26th (Office day). My father come and dined with me, who seems to take much pleasure to have a son that is neat in his house. After dinner to the office again, and there till night. I heard that my Lady Batten² had given my wife a visit (the first that ever she made her), which pleased me exceedingly.

27th. To Whitehall where I found my Lord gone abroad to the Wardrobe, whither he do now go every other morning, and do seem to resolve to understand and look after the business himself. From thence to Westminster Hall, and in King Street there being a great stop of coaches, there was a falling out between

¹ John Wilkins, D.D., brother-in-law of the Protector, made Bishop of Chester, 1668. Ob. 1672.

² Elizabeth Woodcock, evidently his second wife, as his daughter Martha is often mentioned, married Feb. 3, 1658-9, to Sir W. Batten; and secondly, in 1671, to a foreigner called, in the register of Battersea parish, Lord Leyenburg. Lady Leighenberg was buried at Walthamstow, Sept. 16, 1681. — LYSONS'S *Environs*. Sir James Barkman Leyenburg, the envoy from Sweden, was resident in England till 1682, or later. See Jan. 21, 1666-67. His name occurs in "The Intelligencer," 12th March, 1663-4, as delayed at Stockholm by a fever, though his despatches were ready. A hostile message appears to have passed between him and Pepys, in November, 1670, but the duel was prevented. Perhaps they quarrelled about the money due from Sir W. Batten to Pepys, for which the widow was liable. See Mr. Wren's letter, November 9th, 1670, in "Correspondence."

a drayman and my Lord Chesterfield's coachman, and one of his footmen killed. To my Lord's again, where I found my wife, and she and I dined with him and my Lady, and great company of my Lord's friends, and my Lord did show us great respect. Soon as dinner was done my wife went to a christening, and I to a play, "The Scornfull Lady,"¹ and that being done, I went homewards, and met Mr. Moore, who told me how the House had this day voted the King to have all the Excise for ever. This day I do also hear that the Queene's going to France is stopt, which do like me well, because then the King will be in towne the next month, which is my month again at the Privy Seale.

28th. To Whitehall to my Lord's, where Major Hart did pay me 23*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, due to me upon my pay in my Lord's troop at the time of our disbanding,² which is a great blessing to have without taking any law in the world for. But now I must put an end to any hopes of getting any more, so that I bless God for this. So home, where I found that Mr. Creed had sent me the 11*l.* 5*s.* that is due to me upon the remaynes of account for my sea business, which is also so much clear money to me, and my bill of impresse³ for 30*l.* is also cleared, so that I am wholly clear as to the sea in all respects.

¹ A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

² As trained bands.

³ For "bill of imprest." In Italian *imprestare* means "to lend." In the ancient accounts of persons officially employed by the crown, money advanced, paid on account, was described as "de prestito," or "in prestitis." (M. B.)

29th. In the afternoon Sir W. Batten and I met and did sell the ship Church for 440*l.*, and we [were] asked 391*l.*

30th (Office day). To the office, where Sir G. Carteret did give us an account how Mr. Holland¹ do intend to prevail with the Parliament to try his project of discharging the seamen all at present by ticket,² and so promise interest to all men that will lend money upon them at eight per cent., for so long as they are unpaid ; whereby he do think to take away the growing debt, which do now lie upon the kingdom for lack of present money to discharge the seamen. But this we are troubled at as some diminution to us. I having two barrels of oysters at home, I caused one of them and some wine to be brought to the inner room in the office, and there the Principal Officers did go and eat them. So we sat till noon, and then to dinner, and to it again in the afternoon till night. At home I sent for Mr. Hater, and broke the other barrel with him, and did afterwards sit down discoursing of sea terms to learn of him.

December 1st. This morning, observing some things to be laid up not as they should be by the girle, I took a broom and basted her till she cried extremely, which made me vexed, but before I went out

¹ John Holland was secretary to Sir G. Carteret, then Treasurer of the Navy, and was author of the "Discourse on the Navy," mentioned in note, March 19, 1669.

² The system of tickets afterwards gave great trouble, and caused much discontent.

I left her appeased. I went to my Lord St. Alban's lodgings, and found him in bed, talking to a priest (he looked like one) that leaned along over the side of the bed, and there I desired to know his mind about making the catch stay longer, which I got ready for him the other day. He seems to be a fine civil gentleman. To my Lord's, and did give up my audit of his accounts. I dined with my Lord and Lady, and we had a venison pasty. Mr. Shepley and I went into London, and calling upon Mr. Pinkney, the goldsmith, he took us to the tavern, and gave us a pint of wine, and there fell into our company old Mr. Flower and another gentleman, who tell us how a Scotch knight was killed basely the other day at the Fleece¹ in Covent Garden, where there had been a great many formerly killed.

2d (Lord's day). To church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon; so home to dinner. My wife and I all alone to a leg of mutton, the sawce of which being made sweet, I was angry at it, and eat none, but only dined upon the marrow bone that we had beside. To church in the afternoon, and after sermon took Tom Fuller's Church History and read over Henry the 8th's life in it, and so to supper and to bed.

¹ "The Fleece Tavern, in York Street, Covent Garden," observes John Aubrey, in his "*Miscellanies*," p. 31, "was very unfortunate for homicides; there have been several killed; three in my time. It is now (1692) a private house." In Rugge's "*Diurnal*" is the following entry:—"Nov. 1660. One Sir John Gooscall was unfortunately killed in the Fleece Tavern, Covent Garden, by one Balendin, a Scotchman, who was taken, and committed to the Gatehouse in this month."

3rd. This morning I took a resolution to rise early in the morning, and so I rose by candle, which I have not done all this winter, and spent my morning in fiddling till time to go to the office. After office home to dinner, where come in my cozen Snow by chance, and I had a very good capon to dinner. So to the office till night, and so home, and then come Mr. Davis, of Deptford (the first time that ever he was at my house), and after him Mons. L'Impertinent,¹ who is to go to Ireland to-morrow, and so came to take his leave of me. They both found me under the barber's hand; but I had a bottle of good sack in the house, and so made them very wellcome. After they were gone I fell a reading Cornelianum Dolium till 11 o'clock at night with great pleasure, and after that to bed.

4th. To the Duke of York, and he tooke us into his closet, and we did open to him our project of stopping the growing charge of the fleete by paying them in hand one moyety, and the other four months hence. This he do like, and we returned by his order to Sir G. Carteret's, and there we did draw up this design in order to be presented to the Parliament. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, &c., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it: which (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great

¹ Mr. Butler. (M. B.)

courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

5th. After dinner I went to the New Theatre and there I saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor" ¹ acted, the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest but very poorly, and Sir J. Falstaffe as bad as any.

6th. This morning some of the Commissioners of Parliament and Sir W. Batten paid off the Chesnut. I carried my wife to White Friars and myself to Whitehall to the Privy Seale, where abundance of pardons to seal, but I was much troubled for it because that there are no fees now coming for them to me. Thence Mr. Moore and I alone to the Leg in King Street and dined together on a neat's tongue and udder. Thence to my Lord, who told me of his going out of towne to-morrow to settle the militia in Huntingdonshire, and did desire me to lay up a box of some rich jewels and things that there are in it, which I promised to do. After much free discourse with my Lord, who tells me his mind as to his enlarging his family, &c., and desiring me to look him out a Master of the Horse and other servants, we parted. Home and found my girle knocking at the door (it being 11 o'clock at night), her mistress having sent her out for some trivial business, which did vex me when I came in and so I took occasion to go up and to bed in a pet. Before I went forth this morning,

¹ Sir John Falstaff played by Cartwright.

one came to me to give me notice that the Justices of Middlesex do meet to-morrow at Hicks Hall, and that as I am one am desired to be there, but I fear I cannot be there though I much desire it.

7th. To my Lord's, where I found my Lord gone this morning to Huntingdon. I staid and dined with my Lady, and before dinner I examined [her page] Laud in his Latin and found him a very pretty boy and gone a great way in Latin. After dinner I took a box of some things of value that my Lord had left for me to carry to the Exchequer. So to the Privy Seale where I signed a deadly number of pardons, which do trouble me to get nothing by. I fell a-reading Fuller's History of Abbys¹, and my wife in Great Cyrus² till twelve at night, and so to bed.

8th. To dinner with my wife to Mr. Pierce the Purser (the first time that ever I was at his house) who does live very plentifully and finely. We had a lovely chine of beef and other good things very complete and drank a great deal of wine and her daughter played after dinner upon the virginals³ and at night by lanthorne home and I went to bed, having drunk so much wine that my head was troubled.

9th (Lord's day). Being called up early by Sir W.

¹ Which formed part of his "Church History," book VI.

² "Artamine, ou, Le Grand Cyrus, par Magdelaine de Scudery," the second of her works.

³ *Virginals*. An instrument of the spinnet kind, but made quite rectangular, like a small pianoforte. Their name was probably derived from being used by young girls. Sometimes called a *pair of virginals*, but improperly. (M. B.)

Batten I rose and went to his house and he told me the ill news that he had this morning from Woolwich, that the Assurance (formerly Captain Holland's ship, and now Captain Stoakes's,¹ designed for Guiny and manned and victualled), was by a gust of wind sunk down to the bottom. Twenty men drowned. Sir Williams both went by barge thither to see how things are, and I am sent to the Duke of York to tell him. I went to the Duke. And first calling upon Mr. Coventry at his chamber, I went to the Duke's bedside, who had sat up late last night, and lay long this morning. This being done I went to chappell, and sat in Mr. Blagrove's pew, and there did sing my part along with another before the King, and with much ease. From thence going to my Lady I met with a letter from my Lord, commanding me to go to Mr. Denham,² to get a man to go to him to-morrow to Hinchinbroke, to contrive with him about some alteracions in his house, which I did and got Mr. Kennard. Dined with my Lady and had infinite of talk of all kind of things, especially of beauty of men and women, with which she seems to be much pleased to talk of. From thence at night to Mr. Kennard and took him to Denham, the Surveyor's. From thence with Mr. Kennard to my Lady who is much pleased with him, and after a glass of sack there, we parted, having taken order for a horse or two for him and his

¹ John Stoakes, late captain of the Royal Henry.

² John Denham, created at the Restoration K.B., and Surveyor-General of the Works; better known as the author of "Cooper's Hill." Ob. 1668.

servant to be gone to-morrow. Thence home, where I hear that the Comptroller¹ had some business with me and he showed me a design of his, by the King's making an Order of Knights of the Sea, to give an encouragement for persons of honour to undertake the service of the sea, and he had done it with great pains and very ingeniously. So home and to prayers and to bed.

10th. Up exceedingly early to go to the Comptroller, but he not being up and it being a very fine, bright, moonshine morning I went and walked all alone twenty turnes in Cornhill, from Gracious Streete corner to the Stockes² and back again. It is expected that the Duke will marry the Lord Chancellor's daughter³ at last; which is likely to be the ruine of Mr. Davis and my Lord Barkley, who have carried themselves so high against the Chancellor; Sir Chas. Barkley swearing that he and others had intrigued with her often, which all believe to be a lie.⁴ Col. Slingsby and I in the evening to the Coffee House in Cornhill and I found much pleasure in it, through the diversity of company and discourse. From thence

¹ Sir R. Slingsby.

² "Near the Conduit, on Cornhill, was a strong prison, made of timber, called a cage, with a pair of stockes set upon it, and this was for night-walkers." — MAITLAND'S *Hist. of London*, vol. ii., p. 903.

³ He had married her on the 3rd September previous.

⁴ Sir Charles Berkeley, in the "Grammont Memoirs" improperly called Sir George Berkeley, afterwards Earl of Falmouth, was the confidant and favourite of the king. He was killed at Southwold Bay, in the seafight, June 2nd, 1665. For a more detailed account of the charge against the Chancellor, see the "Grammont Memoirs," page 163, Bohn's edition. (M. B.)

home and up to bed, having first been into my study, and to ease my mind did go to cast up how my cash stands, and I do find as near as I can that I am worth in money clear 240*l.*, for which God be praised. This afternoon there was a couple of men with me with a book in each of their hands, demanding money for poll-money, and I overlooked the book and saw myself set down Samuel Pepys, gent. 10*s.* for himself and for his servants 2*s.*, which I did presently pay without any dispute, but I fear I have not escaped so, and therefore I have long ago laid by 10*l.* for them, but I think I am not bound to discover myself.

11th. My wife and I up very early this day, and though the weather was very bad and the wind high, yet my Lady Batten and her mayde and we two did go by our barge to Woolwich (my Lady being very fearfull) where we found both Sir Williams and much other company, expecting the weather to be better, that they might go about weighing up the Assurance, which lies there (poor ship, that I have been twice merry in, in Captn. Holland's time,) under water, only the upper deck may be seen and the masts. Captain Stoakes is very melancholy, and being in search for some clothes and money of his, which he says he hath lost out of his cabin. I did the first office of a Justice of Peace to examine a seaman thereupon, but could find no reason to commit him. This last tide the Kingsale was also run aboard and lost her main-mast, by another ship, which makes us think it ominous to the Guiny voyage, to have two spoilt before

they go out. After dinner, my Lady being very fearfull of her ships she staid and kept my wife there, and I and another gentleman, a friend of Sir W. Pen's, went back in the barge, very merry by the way, as far as Whitehall in her. Mr. Moore has persuaded me to put out 250*l.* for 50*l.* per annum for eight years, and I think I shall do it. Thence home and to bed.

12th. To the Exchequer and did give my mother Bowyer a visit and her daughters, the first time that I have seen them since I went last to sea. My father did offer me six pieces of gold, in lieu of six pounds that he borrowed of me the other day, but it went against me to take it of him and therefore did not, though I was afterwards a little troubled that I did not. Home and to bed, reading myself asleep, while the wench sat mending my breeches by my bedside.

13th. All the day long looking upon my workmen who this day began to paint my parlour. I stepped to my Lady's, where Sir John Lawson and Captain Holmes were, and there we dined and had very good red wine of my Lady's own making in England.

14th. With the Comptroller at the office both forenoon and afternoon, and at night stepped a little with him to the Coffee House where we light upon very good company and had very good discourse concerning insects and their having a generative faculty as well as other creatures. The Comptroller told me among other persons that were heretofore the principal officers of the Navy, there was one Sir Peter

Buck,¹ a Clerk of the Acts, of which to myself I was not a little proud.

15th. All day at home looking upon my workmen, only at noon Mr. Moore came and brought me some things to sign for the Privy Seale and dined with me. We had three eeles that my wife and I bought this morning of a man, that cried them about, for our dinner.

16th. In the afternoon I to White Hall, where I was surprised with the news of a plot against the King's person and my Lord Monk's; and that since last night there are about forty taken up on suspicion; and, amongst others, it was my lot to meet with Simon Beale, the Trumpeter, who took me and Tom Doling into the Guard in Scotland Yard, and showed us Major-General Overton.² Here I heard him deny that he is guilty of any such things; but that whereas it is said that he is found to have brought many armes to towne, he says it is only to sell them, as he will prove by oath. To my Lady's and staid with her an hour or two talking of the Duke of York and his lady, the Chancellor's daughter, between whom, she tells me, that all is agreed and he will marry her. But I know not how true yet.

17th. To the office where both Sir Williams were

¹ Peter Buck, secretary to Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Lord High Admiral, and afterwards knighted. Our Diarist aspired to a similar distinction. Buck is described in Pepys's Book of "Signs Manual," as "Clerk of the Acts of the Navy in 1608."

² One of Oliver Cromwell's Major-Generals: a high Republican.

come from Woolwich, and tell us that, contrary to their expectations, the Assurance is got up, without much damage to her body, only to the goods that she hath within her, which argues her to be a strong, good ship. This day my parlour is gilded, which do please me well.

18th. All day at home, without stirring at all, looking after my workmen.

19th. This night Mr. Gauden¹ sent me a great chine of beef and half a dozen of tongues.

20th. All day at home with my workmen, that I may get all done before Christmas. This day I hear that the Princesse Royall has the small pox.

21st. By water to Whitehall (leaving my wife at Whitefriars going to my father's to buy her a muff and mantle), there I signed many things at the Privy Seale and afterwards took Mr. Haley and W. Bowyer to the Swan and drank with them. They told me that this is St. Thomas's, and that by an old custome, this day the Exchequer men had formerly, and do intend this night to have a supper; which if I could I promised to come to, but did not. To my Lady's, and dined with her: she told me how dangerously ill the Princesse Royal is: and that this morning she was said to be dead. But she hears that she hath

¹ Dennis Gauden, Victualler to the Navy, subsequently knighted, while sheriff of London: the large house at Clapham, in which Pepys died, was built by him, and intended as a palace for the Bishops of Winchester; his brother, Dr. John Gauden, at that time having expected to be translated from Exeter to that See, but he was promoted to Worcester. Sir Dennis was ultimately ruined, and his villa purchased by William Hewer.

married herself to young Jermyn,¹ which is worse than the Duke of York's marrying the Chancellor's daughter, which is now publicly owned.

22nd. Went to the Sun Taverne, on Fish Street hill, to a dinner of Captn. Teddimans,² where was my Lord Inchiquin³ (who seems to be a very fine person), Sir W. Pen, Captn. Cuttance, and one Mr. Lawrence⁴ (a fine gentleman now going to Algiers), and other good company, where we had a very fine dinner, good musique, and a great deal of wine. We staid here very late, at last Sir W. Pen and I home together, he so overcome with wine that he could hardly go; I was forced to lead him through the streets and he was in a very merry and kind mood. I home, my head troubled with wine, and I very merry went to bed, my head akeing all night.

23rd (Lord's day). In the morning to Church, where our pew all covered with rosemary and baize. A stranger made a dull sermon. Home and found my wife and mayde with much ado had made shift to spit a great turkey sent me this week from Charles Carter, my old colleague, now minister in Huntingdonshire, but not at all roasted, and so I was fain to stay till two o'clock, and after that to church with my wife, and a good sermon there was, and so home.

¹ Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to the Duke of York.

² Afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas Teddiman.

³ Murrough O'Brien, sixth baron of Inchiquin, in Ireland, advanced to the dignity of an Earl about this time.

⁴ Afterwards Sir John Lawrence.

24th. In the morning to the office and Commissioner Pett (who seldom comes there) told me that he had lately presented a piece of plate (being a couple of flaggons) to Mr. Coventry, but he did not receive them, which also put me upon doing the same too; and so after dinner I went and chose a payre of candlesticks to be made ready for me at Alderman Backwell's. This day the Princesse Royall died at Whitehall.

25th (Christmas day). In the morning to church, where Mr. Mills made a very good sermon. After that home to dinner, where my wife and I and my brother Tom (who this morning came to see my wife's new mantle put on, which do please me very well), to a good shoulder of mutton and a chicken. After dinner to church again, my wife and I, where we had a dull sermon of a stranger, which made me sleep, and so home, and I, before and after supper, to my lute and Fuller's History.

26th. To my Lord's, where I found Sir Thomas Bond¹ (whom I never saw before) with a message from the Queene about vessells for the carrying over of her goods. To White Hall by water, and dined with my Lady Sandwich, who at table did tell me how much fault was laid upon Dr. Frazer and the rest of

¹ Sir Thomas Bond was a Roman Catholic; Comptroller of the Household to the Queen Dowager; created a baronet in 1658 by Charles II., to whom, whilst in exile, he had advanced large sums. He died in 1685, and lies buried at Camberwell, in which parish he had purchased an estate at Peckham, and built a house, alienated by his son, Sir Henry, to Chief Justice Trevor.

the Doctors, for the death of the Princesse.¹ My Lord did dine this day with Sir Henry Wright, in order to his going to sea with the Queene.

27th. In the morning to Alderman Backwell's again, where I found the candlesticks done, and went along with him in his coach to my Lord's and left the candlesticks with Mr. Shepley. I staid in the garden talking much with my Lord, who do show me much of his love and do communicate his mind in most things to me, which is my great content. This afternoon there came in a strange lord to Sir William Batten's by a mistake and enters discourse with him, so that we could not be rid of him till Sir Arn. Breames² and Mr. Bens and Sir W. Pen fell a-drinking to him till he was drunk, and so sent him away. About the middle of the night I was very ill—I think with eating and drinking too much—and so I was forced to call the mayde, who pleased my wife and I in her running up and down so innocently in her smock.

28th (Office day). There all the morning. Staid within all the afternoon and evening, at my lute, with great pleasure.

29th. Within all the morning. Several people to

¹ She died 24th December, 1660.

² Sir Arnold Breames, or Brahams, of Bridge Court, Kent, was son of Charles Breames, of Dover, and was knighted at Canterbury, 27th May, 1660. He married, first, Joana, daughter of Walter Henflete (or Septvans): secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Dudley Digges, Master of the Rolls; and thirdly, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer, of Wingham, Bart.

speaking with me; Mr. Shepley for 100*l.*; Mr. Kennard and Warren,¹ the merchant, about deales for my Lord. Captain Robert Blake lately come from the Straights about some Florence wine for my Lord, and with him I went to Sir W. Pen, who offering me a barrel of oysters I took them both home to my house (having by chance a good piece of roast beef at the fire for dinner), and there they dined with me. Thence to Alderman Backwell's and took a brave state-plate and cupp in lieu of the candlesticks that I had the other day and carried them by coach to my Lord's and left them there. Home with my father, he telling me what bad wives both my cozen Joyces make to their husbands, which I much wondered at. After talking of my sister's coming to me next week, I went home and to bed.

30th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed, and being up, I went with Will to my Lord's, calling in at many churches in my way. There I found Mr. Shepley in his Venetian cap taking physique in his chamber. Dined there, and after dinner Mr. Childe and I spent some time at the lute, and so promising to prick me some lessons to my theorbo he went away. I to the Abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that come there to hear the organs.

31st. At the office all the morning and after that I

¹ Charles II., April 12, 1662, knighted a rich tradesman of Wapping, named William Warren. Le Neve says he was "a great builder of ships for King Charles II." And there is still in that parish a place called "Sir William Warren's Square," built on the site of the knight's residence.

went out, and in Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of "Henry the Fourth," and so went to the new Theatre and saw it acted ; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would ; and my having a book, I believe did spoil it a little. That being done I went to my Lord's, where I found him private at cards with my Lord Lauderdale and some persons of honour, my boy taking a cat home with him from my Lord's, which Sarah had given him for my wife, we being much troubled with mice. At Whitehall inquiring for a coach, there was a Frenchman with one eye that was going my way, so he and I hired the coach between us and he set me down in Fenchurch Street. Strange how the fellow, without asking, did tell me all what he was, and how he had ran away from his father and come into England to serve the King, and now going back again.

1660-61. At the end of the last and the beginning of this year, I do live in one of the houses belonging to the Navy Office, as one of the principal officers, and have done now about half-a-year ; my family being, myself, my wife, Jane, Will. Hewer, and Wayneman,¹ my girle's brother. Myself in constant good health, and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it. As to things of State.—The King settled, and loved of all. The Duke of York matched to my Lord Chancellor's

¹ It would appear from this notice of the boy Wayneman, that he was forgiven, and continued in Pepys's service.

daughter, which do not please many. The Queen upon her returne to France with the Princesse Henrietta.¹ The Princesse of Orange lately dead, and we into new mourning for her. We have been lately frighted with a great plot,² and many taken up on it, and the fright not quite over. The Parliament, which had done all this great good to the King, beginning to grow factious, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen speedily. I take myself now to be worth 300*l.* clear in money, and all my goods and all manner of debts paid, which are none at all.

1660-61. January 1st. Mr. Moore to my great comfort tells me that my fees will come to 80*l.* clear to myself, and about 25*l.* for him, which he hath got out of the pardons, though there be no fee due to me at all out of them. Then comes in my brother Thomas, and after him my father, Dr. Thomas Pepys, my uncle Fenner and his two sons (Anthony's only child dying this morning, yet he was so civil to come, and was pretty merry) to breakfast; and I had for them a barrel of oysters, a dish of neat's tongues, and a dish of anchovies, wine of all sorts, and Northdowne

¹ Youngest daughter of Charles I., married soon after to Philip, Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. She died suddenly in 1670, not without suspicion of having been poisoned.

² "A great rising in the city of the Fifth-monarchy men, which did very much disturb the peace and liberty of the people, so that all the train-bands arose in arms, both in London and Westminster, as likewise all the king's guards; and most of the noblemen mounted, and put all their servants on coach horses, for the defence of his Majesty, and the peace of his kingdom." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

ale. We were very merry till about eleven o'clock, and then they went away. At noon I carried my wife by coach to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, where we, with my father, Dr. Thomas, cozen Stradwick, Scott, and their wives, dined. Here I saw first his second wife, which is a very respectfull woman, but his dinner a sorry, poor dinner for a man of his estate, there being nothing but ordinary meat in it. To-day the King dined at a lord's, two doors from us. Mr. Moore and I went to Mr. Pierce's; in our way seeing the Duke of York bring his Lady this day to wait upon the Queene, the first time that ever she did since that great business; and the Queene is said to receive her now with much respect and love; and there he cast up the fees, and I told¹ the money, by the same token one 100*l.* bag, after I had told it, fell all about the room, and I fear I have lost some of it. Supped with them, and Mr. Pierce, the purser, and his wife and mine, where we had a calf's head carboned, but it was raw, we could not eat it, and a good hen. But she is such a slut that I do not love her victuals.

2d. My Lord did give me many commands in his business. As about taking care to write to my uncle

¹ *Told*, that is, "counted." So *tale*, "counting or number." See Shakespeare, "*Tempest*," act ii. sc. 1, "*Macbeth*," act i. sc. 3; Exodus, v. 18, "Yet shall ye deliver the *tale* (the appointed number) of bricks." Milton's "*L'Allegro*:"

"And every shepherd *tells* his *tale*
Under the hawthorn in the dale."

That is, counts the number of his sheep. (M. B.)

that Mr. Barnewell's papers should be locked up, in case he should die, he being now suspected to be very ill. Also about consulting with Mr. W. Montagu¹ for the settling of the 4000*l.* a-year that the King had promised my Lord. As also about getting of Mr. George Montagu to be chosen at Huntingdon this next Parliament, &c. That done he to White Hall stairs with much company, and I with him; where we took water for Lambeth, and there coach for Portsmouth. The Queene's things were all in White Hall Court ready to be sent away, and her Majesty ready to be gone an hour after to Hampton Court to-night, and so to be at Portsmouth on Saturday next. I by water to my office, and so home to dinner, where I found Pall (my sister) was come;² but I do not let her sit down at table with me, which I do at first that she may not expect it hereafter from me. After dinner to Mr. George Montagu about the business of election, and he did give me a piece of gold; so to my Lord's and got the chest of plate brought to the Exchequer, and my brother Spicer put it into his treasury. So to Will's, with them to a pot of ale, and so parted. I took a turne in the Hall, and bought the King and Chancellor's speeches at the dissolving the Parliament last Saturday. So to my Lord's, and took my money home. There stood a man at our door, when I carried it in, and saw me,

¹ William, third son to Lord Montagu of Boughton; afterwards Attorney-General to the Queen; and made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1676.

² See *ante*, Nov. 12th.

which made me a little afeard.¹ This day I lent Sir W. Batten and Captn. Rider my chine of beefe for to serve to-morrow at Trinity House, the Duke of Albe-marle being to be there and all the rest of the Brethren, it being a great day for the reading over of their new Charter, which the King hath newly given them.

3d. To the Theatre, where was acted "Beggars' Bush," it being very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women² come upon the stage. From thence to my father's, where I found my mother gone by Bird, the carrier, to Brampton, upon my uncle's great desire, my aunt being now in despair of life.

4th. Office all the morning, my wife and Pall being gone to my father's to dress dinner for Mr. Honiwood, my mother being gone out of town. Dined at home, and Mr. Moore with me, with whom I had been early this morning at White Hall, at the Jewell Office,³ to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord,

¹ *Afeard*. Always so spelt by Pepys in cipher for "afraid." Very common in Shakespeare.

"Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises."

Tempest, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

² The year 1629 is to be marked as the first date at which any attempt was made in this country to introduce female performers on the public stage. In France and Italy the practice had long prevailed, and the experiment was tried here, though without success, by a company of French comedians at the Blackfriars Theatre. — BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 149. (M. B.)

³ Several of the Jewel Office rolls are in the British Museum. They recite all the sums of money given to the King, and the particulars of all the plate distributed in his name, as well as gloves and sweetmeats. The Museum possesses these rolls for the 4th, 9th, 18th, 30th, and 31st Eliz.; for the 13th Charles I.; and the 23rd, 24th, 26th, and 27th of Charles II.

in returne of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earle gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30; so I paid 12s. for the ounce and half over what he is to have; but strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which, I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates. After dinner Mr. Moore and I to the theatre, where was "The Scornful Lady," acted very well, it being the first play that ever he saw.

5th. Several people came to me about business, among others the great Tom Fuller,¹ who came to desire a kindness for a friend of his,² who hath a mind to go to Jamaica with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do. To Will's, and thence by coach home, staying a little in Paul's Churchyard, to

¹ So well known for his "Church History," in which is the "History of Abbys," mentioned in the *Diary*, 7th December, 1660, the "History of all the Families in England," see *Diary*, 22nd January, 1660-61, and his "Worthies of England," see *Diary*, 9th February, 1661-62. (M. B.)

² Peter Beckford, who resided in Dr. Fuller's neighbourhood. Mr. Beckford, of Maidenhead, tailor, left two sons, one of whom, Thomas, a cloth-worker, became Sheriff of London, and was knighted on the 29th December, 1677. He is the slop-seller mentioned *postea*, Feb. 21, 1667-8. His brother, Peter Beckford, probably the person alluded to in Jan. 1, 1668-9, had a son of the same names, who rose to the rank of Colonel in the army, having estates in Jamaica, and settling in that island. He became President of the Council there, in the latter part of Charles the Second's reign: was made Governor and Commander-in-Chief by William III., and died immensely rich. Governor Beckford had a son of the same names, who was father of the well-known Alderman Beckford, and grandfather of the late owner of Fonthill.

bespeak Ogilby's *Æsop's Fables* and Tully's *Officys* to be bound for me.

6th (Lord's day). My wife and I to church this morning, and so home to dinner to a boiled leg of mutton. To church again, where, before sermon, a long Psalm was set that lasted an houre, while the sexton gathered his year's contribucion through the whole church. After sermon home, and there I went to my chamber and wrote a letter to send to Mr. Coventry, with a piece of plate along with it, which I do preserve among my other letters.

7th. This morning, news was brought to me to my bed-side, that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatiques, who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My Lord Mayor and the whole City had been in armes, above 40,000. After dinner (leaving 12*d.* with the servants to buy a cake with at night, this day being kept as Twelfth day) Tom and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "The Silent Woman." The first time that ever I did see it, and it is an excellent play. Among other things here, Kinaston, the boy, had the good turn to appear in three shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant, and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house, and lastly, as a man; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house. From thence by link to my cozen Stradwicke's, where my father and we and Dr. Pepys, Scott, and his wife, and one Mr. Ward and his; and

after a good supper, we had an excellent cake, where the mark for the Queene was cut, and so there was two queens, my wife and Mrs. Ward; and the King being lost, they chose the Doctor to be King, so we made him send for some wine, and then home. In our way home we were in many places strictly examined, more than in the worst of times, there being great fears of these Fanatiques rising again: for the present I do not hear that any of them are taken. Being come home we found that my people had been very merry, but no harm.

8th. Will and I to Westminster, where I dined with my Lady. After dinner I took my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. Sidney to the Theatre, and shewed them "The Widdow,"¹ an indifferent good play, but wronged by the women being to seek in their parts. That being done, my Lord's coach waited for us, and so back to my Lady's, where she made me drink of some Florence wine, and did give me two bottles for my wife. Thence to Tom Pepys and bought a dozen of trenchers, and so home. Some talk to-day of a head of Fanatiques that do appear about Barnett, but I do not believe it. However, my Lord Mayor, Sir Richd. Browne, hath carried himself very honourably, and hath caused one of their meeting-houses in London to be pulled down.

9th. Waked in the morning about six o'clock, by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house,

¹ "The Widow," a comedy, by B. Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton.

talking that the Fanatiques were up in armes in the City. And so I rose and went forth; where in the street I found every body in armes at the doors. So I returned (though with no good courage at all, but that I might not seem to be afeared),¹ and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge; and went to the door, where I found Sir R. Ford,² and with him I walked up and down as far as the Exchange, and there I left him. In our way, the streets full of train-bands, and great stories, what mischief these rogues have done; and I think near a dozen have been killed this morning on both sides. Seeing the city in this condition, the shops shut, and all things in trouble, I went home and sat, it being office day, till noon. So home, and dined at home, and after dinner to my uncle Wight's, and here I sat with my aunt till it was late, my uncle going forth about business, and my aunt being very fearful to be alone. So home to my lute till late, and then to bed, there being strict guards all night in the City, though most of the enemies, they say, are killed or taken.³

10th. There comes Mr. Hawley to me and brings me my money for the quarter of a year's salary of my place under Downing that I was at sea. So I did give him half, whereof he did in his noblenesse give the odd 5s. to my Jane. Talking of his wooing afresh

¹ See note, 2nd January, 1660-61. (M. B.)

² Lord Mayor of London, 1671.

³ For a contemporary account of the trials and executions of these fanatics, see Somer's "Tracts," vol. vii., p. 469, Sir W. Scott's edition.

of Mrs. Lane, and of his going to serve the Bishop of London. After dinner Will. comes to tell me that he had presented my piece of plate to Mr. Coventry, who takes it very kindly, and sends me a very kind letter, and the plate back again; of which my heart is very glad. So to Mrs. Hunt, where I found a Frenchman, a lodger of her's, at dinner, and just as I came in was kissing my wife, which I did not like, though there could not be any hurt in it. Mr. Davis told us the particular examinations of these Fanatiques that are taken: and in short it is this, all these Fanatiques that have done all this, viz., routed all the trainbands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City gates twice; and all this in the day time, when all the City was in armes;—are not in all above 31. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been about Highgate¹ two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, "The King Jesus, and the heads upon the gates." Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as were taken by force and kept alive; expecting Jesus to

¹ In Ken, or Caen Wood, to which place Venner retreated with his followers. (See Neal's "History of the Puritans.") The extent of Ken Wood must not be estimated by the small portion now surrounding Lord Mansfield's mansion. Ken Wood formed only a part of a large forest belonging to the See of London.

come here and reign in the world presently, and will not believe yet but their work will be carried on though they die. The King this day came to towne.

11th (Office day). This day comes news, by letters from Portsmouth, that the Princesse Henrietta is fallen sick of the meazles on board the London, after the Queene¹ and she was under sail. And so was forced to come back again into Portsmouth harbour; and in their way, by negligence of the pilot, run upon the Horse sand. The Queene and she continue aboard, and do not intend to come on shore till she sees what will become of the young Princesse. This newes do make people think something indeed, that three of the Royal Family should fall sick of the same disease, one after another. This morning likewise, we had order to see guards set in all the King's yards; and so Sir Wm. Batten goes to Chatham, Colonel Slingsby and I to Deptford and Woolwich. Portsmouth being a garrison, needs none. Dined at home, discontented that my wife do not go neater now she has two mayds. At night walked to Paul's Churchyard, and bespoke some books against next week, and from thence to the Coffee-house, where I met Captain Morrice, the upholster, who would fain have lent me a horse to-night to have rid with him upon the City-guards, with the Lord Mayor, there being some new expectations of these rogues; but I refused by reason of my going out of towne to-morrow. So home to bed.

¹ Henrietta Maria.

12th. With Colonel Slingsby and a friend of his, Major Waters (a deafe and most amorous melancholy gentleman, who is under a despayr in love, as the Colonel told me, which makes him bad company, though a most good-natured man), by water to Redriffe, and so on foot to Deptford (our servants by water), where we fell to choosing four captains to command the guards, and choosing the place where to keep them, and other things in order thereunto. Never till now did I see the great authority of my place, all the captains of the fleete coming cap in hand to us. Having staid very late there I went home with Mr. Davis,¹ storekeeper (whose wife is ill and so I could not see her), and was there most prince-like lodged, with so much respect and honour that I was at a loss how to behave myself.

13th. In the morning we all went to church, and sat in the pew belonging to us, where a cold sermon of a young man that never had preached before. So to the Globe to dinner, and then with Commissioner Pett to his lodgings there (which he hath for the present while he is building the King's yacht, which will be a pretty thing, and much beyond the Dutchman's),² and from thence by coach to Greenwich Church, where a good sermon, a fine church, and a great company of handsome women. After sermon to Deptford again; where, at the Commissioner's and the Globe, we staid long. And so I to Mr. Davis's

¹ See *ante*, 3rd December.

² See *Diary*, 15th August, 1660. (M. B.)

to bed again. But no sooner in bed, but we had an alarme, and so we rose : and the Comptroller¹ comes into the Yard to us ; and seamen of all the ships present repair to us, and there we armed with every one a handspike, with which they were as fierce as could be. At last we hear that it was only five or six men that did ride through the guard in the towne, without stopping to the guard that was there ; and, some say, shot at them. But all being quiet there, we caused the seamen to go on board again.

14th. The armes being come this morning from the Tower, we caused them to be distributed. I spent much time walking with Lieutenant Lambert, walking up and down the yards, and he dined with us. After dinner Mrs. Pett lent us her coach, and carried us to Woolwich, where we did also dispose of the armes there and settle the guards. So to Mr. Pett's, the shipwright, and there supped, where he did treat us very handsomely (and strange it is to see what neat houses all the officers of the King's yards have), his wife a proper woman, and has been handsome, and yet has a pretty hand. Thence I with Mr. Ackworth to his house, where he has a very pretty house, and a very proper lovely woman to his wife. I went to bed, which was also most neat and fine.

15th. Up and down the yard all the morning and seeing the seamen exercise, which they do already

¹ Sir Robert Slingsby.

very handsomely. Then to dinner at Mr. Ackworth's,¹ where there also dined with us one Captain Bethell, a friend of the Comptroller's. A good dinner and very handsome. After that and taking our leaves of the officers of the yard, we walked to the waterside and in our way walked into the rope-yard, where I do look into the tar-houses and other places, and took great notice of all the several works belonging to the making of a cable. So after a cupp of burnt wine at the taverne there we took barge and went to Black-wall and viewed the dock and the new Wett dock, which is newly made there, and a brave new merchantman which is to be launched shortly, and they say to be called the Royal Oake. Hence we walked to Dick-Shore² and thence to the Towre and so home. I perceive none of our officers care much for one another, but I do keep in with them all as much as I can. This day I hear the Princesse is recovered again. The King hath been this afternoon at Deptford, to see the yacht³ that Commissioner Pett⁴ is building, which will be very pretty ; as also that that his brother⁵ at Woolwich is in making.

¹ Mr. Ackworth seems to have held some office in Deptford Yard. He is frequently mentioned.

² *Dick Shore*, Limehouse. "This is now called *Duke Shore*, Fore Street. In Gascoigne's Map of Stepney, 1703, it is called *Dick Shoar*. Since that time Dick has become a Duke. Mr. Pepys would find boats there now, if he visited the spot." — *Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. p. 263. (M. B.)

³ In 1604, a yacht had been built for Henry Prince of Wales, by Phineas Pett, to whom the English navy was much indebted in the reigns of the early Stuarts. He was the father of Peter and Christopher.

⁴ Peter Pett.

⁵ Christopher Pett.

16th. This morning I went early to the Comptroller's and so with him by coach to Whitehall, to wait upon Mr. Coventry to give him an account of what we have done, which having done, I went away to wait upon my Lady; but coming to her lodgings I find that she is gone this morning to Chatham by coach, thinking to meet me there, which did trouble me exceedingly, and I did not know what to do, being loth to follow her, and yet could not imagine what she would do when she found me not there. In this trouble, I went to take a walk in Westminster Hall and by chance met with Mr. Childe, who went forth with my Lady to-day, but his horse being bad, he come back again, which then did trouble me more, so that I did resolve to go to her; and so by boate home and put on my boots, and so over to Southwarke to the post-house, and there took horse and guide to Dartford and thence to Rochester (I having good horses and good way, come thither about half-an-hour after daylight, which was before 6 o'clock and I set forth after two), where I found my Lady and her daughter Jem., and Mrs. Browne,¹ and five servants, all at a great loss, not finding me here, but at my coming she was overjoyed. The sport was how she had intended to have kept herself unknown, and how the Captaine² (whom she had sent for) of the

¹ Wife of Captain Arthur Browne, Sir William Batten's brother-in-law. See Feb. 14, 1660-61, and for his death, April 27, 1663.

² Afterwards Sir Roger Cuttance. He was captain of the "Naseby," re-christened the "Charles." Henry Cuttance was Captain of the "Cheriton," or "Speedwell."

Charles had forsoothed¹ her, though he knew her well and she him. In fine we supped merry and so to bed, there coming several of the Charles' men to see me before I got to bed. The page lay with me.

17th. Up, and breakfast with my Lady. Then come Captains Cuttance and Blake² to carry her in the barge on board, and so we went through Ham Creeke to the Soverayne (a goodly sight all the way to see the brave ships that lie here) first, which is a most noble ship. I never saw her before. My Lady Sandwich, my Lady Jemimah, Mrs. Browne, Mrs. Grace, and Mary and the page, my lady's servants and myself, all went into the lanthorne together. From thence to the Charles, where my lady took great pleasure to see all the rooms, and to hear me tell her how things are when my Lord is there. After we had seen all, then the officers of the ship had prepared a handsome breakfast for her, and while she was pledging my Lord's health they give her five guns. That done, we went off, and then they give us thirteen guns more. I confess it was a great pleasure to myself to see the ship that I begun my good fortune in. From thence on board the Newcastle, to show my Lady the difference between a great and a small ship. Among these ships I did give away 7*l*. So back again and went on shore at Chatham, where I had ordered the coach to wait for us. Here I heard that Sir Wil-

¹ *Forsoothed*, i.e. treated contemptuously. (M. B.)

² Captain Robert Blake. See *ante*, Dec. 23rd.

liam Batten and his lady (who I knew were here, and did endeavour to avoyd) were now gone this morning to London. So we took coach, and I went into the coach, and went through the towne, without making stop at our inn, but left J. Goods to pay the reckon- ing. So I rode with my lady in the coach, and the page on the horse that I should have rid on—he desiring it. It begun to be darke before we could come to Dartford, and to rain hard, and the horses to fayle, which was our great care to prevent, for fear of my Lord's displeasure, so here we sat up for to-night, as also Captains Cuttance and Blake, who came along with us. We set and talked till supper, and at supper my Lady and I entered into a great dispute concerning what were best for a man to do with his estate—whether to make his elder son heire, which my Lady is for, and I against, but rather to make all equall. This discourse took us much time, till it was time to go to bed; but we being merry, we bade my Lady good-night, and intended to have gone to the Post-house to drink, and hear a pretty girle play of the citterne (and indeed we should have lain there, but by a mistake we did not), but it was late, and we could not hear her, and the guard came to examine what we were; so we returned to our Inn and to bed, the page and I in one bed, and the two captains in another, all in one chamber, where we had very good mirth with our most abominable lodging.

18th. The Captains went with me to the post-house about 9 o'clock, and after a morning draft I took

horse and guide for London; and though some rain, and a great wind in my face, I got to London at eleven o'clock. At home found all well, but the monkey loose, which did anger me, and so I did strike her till she was almost dead, that they might make her fast again, which did still trouble me more. In the afternoon we met at the office and sat till night, and then I to see my father who I found well, and took him to Standing's to drink a cup of ale. I took Mr. Hollier¹ to the Greyhound, where he did advise me above all things, both as to the stone and the decay of my memory (of which I now complain to him), to avoid drinking often, which I am resolved, if I can, to leave off. Hence home, and took home with me from the bookseller's Ogilby's *Æsop*, which he had bound for me, and indeed I am very much pleased with the book. Home and to bed.

19th. To the Comptroller's, and with him by coach to White Hall; in our way meeting Venner² and Pritchard upon a sledge, who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged to-day, and the two first

¹ Ward, in his "Diary," p. 235, mentions that the porter at St. Thomas's Hospital told him, in 1661, of Mr. Holyard's having cut thirty for the stone in one year, who all lived. This surgeon, of whom we read so often in the "Diary," was probably the person who operated successfully upon Pepys when afflicted with a similar complaint, and hence their intimacy in after life.

² Thomas Venner, a cooper, and preacher to a conventicle in Coleman-street. He was a violent enthusiast and leader in the Insurrection on the 7th of January before mentioned. He was much wounded before he could be taken, and fought with courage amounting to desperation. Venner and Hodgkins were executed in Coleman Street; Pritchard and Oxman at the end of Wood Street.

drawn and quartered. I went to the Leg in King Street and had a rabbit for myself and my Will, and after dinner I sent him home and myself went to the Theatre, where I saw "The Lost Lady,"¹ which do not please me much. Here I was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerks, which sat in the half-crowne box and I in the 1s. 6d. From thence by linke, and bought two mouse traps of Thomas Pepys, the Turner.

20th (Lord's day). To Church in the morning. Dined at home. My wife and I to Church in the afternoon. Supped at my Uncle Wight's and were very merry and so home, and after prayers to write down my journall for the last five days, and so to bed.

21st. This morning Sir W. Batten, the Comptroller and I to Westminster, to the Commissioner for paying off the Army and Navy, where the Duke of Albemarle was ; and we satt with our hatts on and did discourse about paying off the ships and do find that they do intend to undertake it without our help ; and we are glad of it, for it is a work that will much displease the poor seamen, and so we are glad to have no hand in it. So home to supper and then to bed, having eat no dinner to-day. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter ; no cold at all ; but the ways are dusty, and the flyes fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as

¹ A tragi-comedy, by Sir William Berkeley.

was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

22nd. To the Comptroller's house, where I read over his proposals to the Lord Admiral for the regulating of the officers of the Navy, in which he hath taken much pains, only he do seem to have too good opinion of them himself. From thence in his coach to Mercer's Chappell, and so up to the great hall, where we met with the King's Councell for trade, upon some proposals of theirs for settling convoys for the whole English trade, and that by having 33 ships (four fourth-rates, nineteen fifths, ten sixths) settled by the King for that purpose, which indeed was argued very finely by many persons of honour and merchants that were there. It pleased me much now to come in this condition to this place, where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in Paul's School; and also where Sir G. Downing (my late master) was chaireman, and so but equally concerned with me. I met with Dr. Thos. Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book that is coming out: that is, his History of all the Families in England; and could tell me more of my owne, than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be

out and forget his last sentence (which he never was), that then his last refuge is to begin with an *Utcunque*.¹

23rd. To the office all the morning. My wife and people at home busy to get things ready for to-morrow's dinner. At noon, without dinner, went into the City, and there meeting with Greateorex, we went and drank a pot of ale. With him to Gresham Colledge (where I never was before), and saw the manner of the house, and found great company of persons of honour there; thence to my bookseller's, and for books, and to Stevens, the silversmith, to make clean some plate against to-morrow, and so home, by the way paying many little debts for wine and pictures, &c., which is my great pleasure. Home and found all things in a hurry of business, Slater, our messenger, being here as my cook till very late. I in my chamber all the evening looking over my Osborn's works and new Emanuel Thesaurus' Patriarchæ. So late to bed, having ate nothing to-day but a piece of bread and cheese at the ale-house with Greateorex, and some bread and butter at home.

24th. At home all day. There dined with me Sir William Batten and his lady and daughter, Sir W. Pen, Mr. Fox (his lady being ill could not come), and Captain Cuttance; the first dinner I have made since I came hither. This cost me above 5*l.*, and merry

¹ Many years ago, but within my recollection, it was said that a former Public Orator of Cambridge, when in a similar difficulty, used to begin his sentence with "*Verum enimvero*." (M. B.)

we were — only my chimney smokes. To bed, being glad that the trouble is over.

25th. Mr. Hater with me to look upon the instructions of my Lord Northumberland's, but we were interrupted by Mr. Salisbury's coming in, who came to see me and to show me my Lord's picture in little, of his doing. And truly it is strange to what a perfection he is come in a year's time. This night comes two cages, which I bought this evening for my canary birds, which Captain Rooth¹ this day sent me.

26th. Within all the morning. About noon comes one that had formerly known me and I him, but I know not his name, to borrow 5*l.* of me, but I had the wit to deny him. There dined with me this day both the Pierces² and their wives, and Captain Cuttance, and Lieutenant Lambert, with whom we made ourselves very merry by taking away his ribbans³ and garters, having made him to confess that he is lately married.

27th (Lord's day). Before I rose, letters come to me from Portsmouth, telling me that the Princesse is now well, and my Lord Sandwich set sail with the Queene and her yesterday from thence for France. To church, a poor dull sermon of a stranger. Home, and at dinner was very angry at my people's eating a fine pudding (made me by Slater, the cooke, last Thursday) without my wife's leave. To church again,

¹ Richard Rooth, Captain of the Dartmouth.

² The surgeon and the purser of the same name.

³ See 24th January, 1659-60, and 9th February, 1662-63. (M. B.)

a good sermon of Mr. Mills, and after sermon Sir W. Pen and I an hour in the garden talking. Mr. and Mrs. Turner supped with us, and after supper we fell to oysters, and then Mr. Turner went and fetched some strong waters, and so being very merry we parted. This day the parson read a proclamation at church, for the keeping of Wednesday next, the 30th of January, a fast for the murther of the late King.

28th. Dined at home, and after dinner to Fleet Streete, with my sword to Mr. Brigden (lately made Captain of the Auxiliaries) to be refreshed, and with him to an ale-house, where I met Mr. Davenport, and after some talk of Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw's ¹ bodies being taken out of their graves to-day, I went to Mr. Crew's and thence to the Theatre, where I saw again "The Lost Lady," which do now please me better than before; and here I sitting behind in a dark place, a lady spit backward upon me by a mistake, not seeing me, but after seeing her to be a very pretty lady, I was not troubled at it at all. To my father's, whither came to us Dr. Fairbrother, who I took and my father to the Bear and gave a pint of sack and a pint of claret. He do still continue his expressions of respect and love to me, and tells me my brother John will make a good scholar. At Mr. Holden's I bought a hat, cost me 35s.²

¹ "Nov. 28. The bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, were dug up out of their graves to be hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows. Cromwell's vault having been opened, the people crowded very much to see him." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

² Stubbes, speaking of the hats worn by the gentlemen of 1580, says, "As

29th. To Southwarke, and so over the fields to Lambeth, and there drank, it being a most glorious and warm day, even to amazement, for this time of the year. To my Lord's, where we found my Lady gone with some company to see Hampton Court, so we went to Blackfryers¹ (the first time I ever was there since plays begun), and there after great patience and little expectation, from so poor beginning, I saw three acts of "The Mayd in y^e Mill"² acted to my great content. But it being late, I left the play, and by water through bridge home, and so to Mr. Turner's house, where the Comptroller, Sir William Batten, and Mr. Davis and their ladies; and here we had a most neat little but costly and genteel supper, and after that a great deal of impertinent mirth by Mr. Davis, and some catches, and so broke up, and going away, Mr. Davis's eldest son took up my old Lady Slingsby³ in his armes, and carried her to the coach, and is said to be able to carry three of the biggest men that were in the company, which I wonder at. So home and to bed.

the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stuff whereof their hat be made diverse also: for some are of silk, some of velvet, some of taffetee, some of sarcenet, some of wool, and which is more curious, some of a certain kind of fine hair, these they call *bever* hats, of xx, xxx or xl shillings price fetched beyond the sea." — BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 233. (M. B.)

¹ At Apothecaries Hall, where Davenant produced the first and second parts of "The Siege of Rhodes." Downes, p. 20.

² "The Maid of the Mill," a play by J. Fletcher and Rowley.

³ Margaret, daughter of Sir William Water, an alderman of York. She was mother of the Comptroller, widow of Sir Guildford Slingsby, and, perhaps, related to Major Water, Pepys's deaf friend.

30th (Fast day). The first time that this day hath been yet observed: and Mr. Mills made a most excellent sermon, upon "Lord forgive us our former iniquities;" speaking excellently of the justice of God in punishing men for the sins of their ancestors. So I went home, and there understand that my mother is come home well from Brampton, and had a letter from my brother John, a very ingenious one, and he therein begs to have leave to come to town at the Coronacion. Then to my Lady Batten's;¹ where my wife and she are lately come back again from being abroad, and seeing of Cromwell, Ireton,² and Bradshaw hanged and buried at Tyburne.³

31st. This morning with Mr. Coventry at Whitehall about getting a ship to carry my Lord's deales to Lynne,⁴ and we have chosen the Gift. To my Lord's, where my Lady not well, so I eat a mouthfull of dinner there, and thence to the Theatre, and there sat in

¹ See Nov. 26, 1660, note.

² Henry Ireton married Bridget, daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and was afterwards one of Charles the First's Judges, and of the Committee who superintended his execution. He died at the siege of Limerick, 1651.

³ "Jan. 30th was kept as a very solemn day of fasting and prayer. This morning the carcasses of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw (which the day before had been brought from the Red Lion Inn, in Holborn), were drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, and then taken out of their coffins, and in their shrouds hanged by the neck, until the going down of the sun. They were then cut down, their heads taken off, and their bodies buried in a grave made under the gallows. The coffin in which was the body of Cromwell was a very rich thing, very full of gilded hinges and nails." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

⁴ The timber purchased from Warren (see *ante*, Dec. 29, 1660), sent to Lynn to be conveyed to Hinchinbrooke as the barge was, mentioned June 20, 1660.

the pitt among the company of fine ladys, &c. ; and the house was exceeding full, to see *Argalus and Parthenia*,¹ the first time that it hath been acted : and indeed it is good, though wronged by my over great expectations, as all things else are.

February 1st. A full office all this morning, and busy about answering the Commissioners of Parliament to their letter, wherein they desire to borrow two clerks of ours, which we will not grant them. After dinner into London and bought some books and a belt, and had my sword new furbished. At night home. So after a little musique to bed, leaving my people up getting things ready against to-morrow's dinner.

2nd. Early to Mr. Moore. Thence home, where all things in a hurry for dinner, a strange cooke being come in the room of Slater, who could not come. There dined here my uncle Wight and my aunt, my father and mother, and my brother Tom, Dr. Fairbrother and Mr. Mills, the parson, and his wife, who is a neighbour's daughter of my uncle Robert's, and knows my Aunt Wight and all her and my friends there ; and so we had excellent company to-day. After dinner I was sent for to Sir G. Carteret's. Then home ; where I found the parson and his wife gone. And by and by the rest of the company, very well pleased, and I too ; it being the last dinner I intend to make a great while, it having now cost me almost

¹ "*Argalus and Parthenia*," a pastoral, by Henry Glapthorn, taken from Sydney's "*Arcadia*."

15th. in three dinners within this fortnight. In the evening comes Sir W. Pen, pretty merry, to sit with me and talk, which we did for an hour or two, and so good night, and I to bed.

3rd (Lord's day). This day I first begun to go forth in my coate and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. To Whitehall. In my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, shewing among other things that we are to go to law never to revenge, but only to repayre, which I think a good distinction. So to White Hall; where I staid to hear the trumpets and kettle-drums, and then the other drums, which are much cried up, though I think it dull, vulgar musique. So to Mr. Fox's, unbidd; where I had a good dinner and special company. Among other discourse, I observed one story, how my Lord of Northwich,¹ at a public audience before the King of France, made the Duke of Anjou cry, by making ugly faces as he was stepping to the King, but undis-

¹ This story relates to circumstances which had occurred many years previously. George, Lord Goring, was sent by Charles I. as Ambassador Extraordinary to France in 1644, to witness the oath of Louis XIV. to the observance of the treaties concluded with England by his father, Louis XIII., and his grandfather, Henry IV. Louis XIV. took this oath at Ruel, on the 3rd of July, 1644, when he was not yet six years of age, and when his brother Philippe, then called Duke of Anjou, was not four years old. Shortly after his return home, Lord Goring was created, in September, 1644, Earl of Norwich, the title by which he is here mentioned. Philippe, Duke of Anjou, who was frightened by the English nobleman's ugly faces, took the title of Duke of Orleans after the death of his uncle, Jean Baptiste Gaston, in 1660. He married his cousin, Henrietta of England, and (by his second wife) is the direct ancestor of Louis Philippe, King of the French.

covered. And how Sir Phillip Warwick's¹ lady did wonder to have Mr. Darcy² send for several dozen bottles of Rhenish wine to her house, not knowing that the wine was his. Thence to my Lord's; where I am told how Sir Thomas Crew's³ Pedro, with two of his countrymen more, did last night kill one soldier of four that quarrelled with them in the street, about 10 o'clock. The other two are taken; but he is now hid at my Lord's till night, that he do intend to make his escape away.

4th. Early up to Court with Sir W. Pen, where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, we met with all our fellow officers, and there a hot debate about the business of paying off the Fleete, and how far we should join with the Commissioners of Parliament therein. So I to the taverne, where Sir William Pen and the Comptroller and several others were, men and women; and we had a very great and merry dinner; and after dinner the Comptroller begun some sports, among others the naming of people round and afterwards demanding questions of them that they are forced to answer their names to, which do make very good sport. And here I took pleasure to take

¹ Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to Charles I. when in the Isle of Wight, and Clerk of the Signet, to which place he was restored in 1660; knighted, and elected M. P. for Westminster. He was also Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Southampton till 1667. Ob. 1682-3. His second wife here mentioned was Joan, daughter of Sir Henry Fanshawe, and widow of Sir William Botteler, Bart.

² 'Duke Darcy. See note *ante*, 24th May, 1660.

³ Eldest son of Mr., afterwards Lord Crewe, whom he succeeded in that title.

the forfeits of the ladies who would not do their duty by kissing of them ; among others a pretty lady, who I found afterwards to be wife to Sir W. Batten's son.¹ We sat late, talking with my Lady and others and Dr. Whistler,² who I found good company and a very ingenious man. So home and to bed.

5th. Washing-day. My wife and I by water to Westminster. She to her mother's and I to Westminster Hall, where I found a full terme, and there saw my Lord Treasurer³ (who was sworn to-day at the Exchequer, with a great company of Lords and persons of honour to attend him) go up to the Treasury Offices, and take possession thereof ; and also saw the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, set up upon the further end of the Hall. I went by coach to the play-house at the Theatre, our coach in King Street breaking, and so took another. Here we saw *Argalus* and *Parthenia*, which I lately saw, but though pleasant for the dancing and singing, I do not find good for any wit or design therein.

6th. To the office, and there sat long, then to dinner, Captain Murford with me. I had a dish of fish and a good Hare, which was sent me the other day by Goodenough the plasterer. So to the office again,

¹ Benjamin Batten. See *ante*, 26th Nov. 1660, and note.

² Daniel Whistler, Fellow of Merton College, took the degree of M. D. at Leyden, 1645; and, after practising in London, went as Physician to the Embassy, with Bulstrode Whitlock, into Sweden. On his return, he became Fellow, and at length President, of the College of Physicians. Ob. 1684. He was nearly connected with Sir John Cutler.

³ Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, last of his name.

where comes Mr. Jessop, one whom I could not formerly have looked upon, and now he comes cap in hand to us from the Commissioners of the Navy, though indeed he is a man of a great estate and of good report.

7th. To Westminster Hall. And after a walk to my Lord's; where, while I and my Lady were in her chamber in talk, in comes my Lord from sea, to our great wonder. He had dined at Havre de Grace on Monday last, and came to the Downes the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to White Hall. Among others, Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers tell me the stories of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's and my Lord's falling out at Havre de Grace, at cards; they two and my Lord St. Alban's playing. The Duke did, to my Lord's dishonour, often say that he did in his conscience know the contrary to what he then said, about the difference at cards; and so did take up the money that he should have lost to my Lord. Which my Lord resenting, said nothing then, but that he doubted not but there were ways enough to get his money of him. So they parted that night; and my Lord sent Sir R. Stayner the next morning to the Duke, to know whether he did remember what he said last night, and whether he would owne it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Alban's, and the Queene and Ambassador Montagu, did waylay them at their lodgings till the difference was made

up, to my Lord's honour ; who hath got great reputation thereby.

8th. Captain Cuttle, and Curtis, and Mootham,¹ and I, went to the Fleece Taverne² to drink ; and there we spent till four o'clock, telling stories of Algiers, and the manner of the life of slaves there. And truly Captn. Mootham and Mr. Dawes³ (who have been both slaves there) did make me fully acquainted with their condition there : as, how they eat nothing but bread and water. At their redemption they pay so much for the water they drink at the public fountaynes, during their being slaves. How they are beat upon the soles of their feet and bellies at the liberty of their padron. How they are all, at night, called into their master's Bagnard ; and there they lie. How the poorest men do use their slaves best. How some rogues do live well, if they do invent to bring their masters in so much a week by their industry or theft ; and then they are put to no other work at all. And theft there is counted no great crime at all.

9th. To my Lord's with Mr. Creed, who was come to me this morning to get a bill of imprest⁴ signed, and then to an ordinary to dinner, and then Creed and I to Whitefriars to the Play-house, and saw "The Mad Lover," the first time I ever saw it acted, which I like pretty well.

¹ Peter Mootham, Captain of the " Foresight ; " afterwards slain in action.

² In Covent Garden.

³ John Dawes, created a baronet in 1663, father of Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York.

⁴ See page 287. (M. B.)

10th (Lord's day). Took physique all day, and, God forgive me, did spend it in reading of some little French romances. At night my wife and I did please ourselves talking of our going into France, which I hope to effect this summer.

11th. At the office all the morning. Then with young Mr. Reeve home to his house, who did there show me many pretty pleasures in perspectives,¹ that I have not seen before, and I did buy a little glass of him cost me 5s. So home to my study, and set some papers and money in order, and so to bed.

12th. By water to Salisbury Court play-house, where not liking to sit, we went out again, and by coach to the Theatre, and there saw "The Scornfull Lady,"² now done by a woman,³ which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

13th. To Sir W. Batten's, whither I sent for my wife, and we chose Valentines⁴ against to-morrow.

¹ "'Telescope' and 'microscope' are both as old as Milton, but for a long while 'perspective' (glass being sometimes understood and sometimes expressed) did the work of these. It is sometimes written 'prospectiv.' Our present use of 'perspective' does not, I suppose, date farther back than Dryden." — TRENCH'S *Select Glossary*. (M. B.)

² A Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

³ Mrs. Marshall. See Downes's "Roscius Anglicanus," p. 6.

⁴ The observation of St. Valentine's day is very ancient in this country. Shakespeare makes Ophelia sing —

"To-morrow is St. Valentine's day,
All in the morning betime,
And I a maid at your window
To be your Valentine."

Hamlet, act iv. sc. 5.

See Nares's "Glossary," and Ben Jonson, "A Tale of a Tub," act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

My wife chose me, which did much please me ; my Lady Batten Sir W. Pen, &c. Here we sat late, and so home to bed, having gotten my Lady Batten to give me a spoonful of honey for my cold.

14th (Valentine's day). Up early and to Sir W. Batten's, but would not go in till I asked whether they that opened the doore was a man or a woman, and Mingo, who was there, answered a woman, which, with his tone, made me laugh ; so up I went and took Mrs. Martha¹ for my Valentine (which I do only for complacency), and Sir W. Batten he go in the same manner to my wife, and so we were very merry. About 10 o'clock we, with a great deal of company, went down by our barge to Deptford, and there only went to see how forward Mr. Pett's yacht is ; and so all into the barge again, and so to Woolwich, on board the Rose-bush, Captain Brown's² ship, that is brother-in-law to Sir W. Batten, where we had a very fine dinner, dressed on shore, and great mirth and all things successfull ; the first time I ever carried my wife a-ship-board, as also my boy Wayneman, who hath all this day been called young Pepys, as Sir W. Pen's boy young Pen. So home by barge again. The talke of the towne now is, who the King is like to have for his Queene : and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictnesse of the King's proclamation ; which it is thought cannot be, because of the poor, who cannot

¹ Mrs. Martha Batten, Sir W. Batten's daughter. See February 18th. (M. B.)

² Arthur Browne. See *ante*, 16th Jan. 1660-61.

buy fish. And also the great preparation for the King's crowning is now much thought upon and talked of.

15th. At the office all the morning, and in the afternoon at making up my accounts for my Lord to-morrow; and that being done I found myself to be clear (as I think) 350*l.* in the world, besides my goods in my house and all things paid for.

16th. To my Lord in the morning, who looked over my accounts and agreed to them. I did also get him to sign a bill (which do make my heart merry) for 60*l.* to me, in consideration of my work extraordinary at sea this last voyage, which I hope to get paid. I dined with my Lord and then to the Theatre, where I saw "The Virgin Martyr,"¹ a good but too sober a play for the company.

17th (Lord's day). A most tedious, unreasonable, and impertinent sermon, by an Irish Doctor. His text was "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in warr." Sir Wm. Batten and I very much angry with the parson.

18th. At the office all the morning, dined at home. In the afternoon my wife and I and Mrs. Martha Batten, my Valentine, to the Exchange, and there upon a payre of embroydered and six payre of plain white gloves I laid out 40*s.* upon her. Then we went to a mercer's at the end of Lombard Streete and there she bought a suit of Lutestring for herself, and so home. It is much talked that the King is already

¹ "The Virgin Martyr," by Massinger and T. Decker.

married to the niece of the Prince de Ligne,¹ and that he hath two sons already by her : which I am sorry to hear ; but yet am gladder that it should be so, than that the Duke of York and his family should come to the crowne, he being a professed friend to the Catholiques.

19th. Met with Sir G. Carteret : who afterwards, with the Duke of York, my Lord Sandwich, and others, went into a private room to consult : and we were a little troubled that we were not called in with the rest. But I do believe it was upon something very private. We staid walking in the gallery ; where we met with Mr. Slingsby,² who showed me the stamps of the King's new coyne ; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them. But he says Blondeau³ will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world. He tells me, he is sure that the King is not yet married, as it is said ; nor that it is known who he will have. To my Lord's and found him dined, and so I lost my dinner, but I staid and played with him and Mr. Childe, &c. some things of four parts, and so it raining hard and bitter cold (the first winter day we have yet had this win-

¹ Can this be meant for *Mazarin*, as the Prince de Ligne had no niece? But Charles had recently made an offer to Hortense Mancini, to whom Cardinal Mazarin was uncle.

² Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint of Kilpax, near Leeds.

³ See 27th November, 1662. (M. B.) Peter Blondeau had been employed by the Commonwealth to coin their money, and after the Restoration was made Engineer of the Mint.

ter), I took coach home and spent the evening in reading of a Latin play, the "*Naufragium Joculare*."¹

21st. To Westminster by coach with Sir W. Pen, and in our way saw the city begin to build scaffolds against the Coronacion.

22nd. After dinner came The. Turner, and so I home with her to her mother, good woman, whom I had not seen through my great neglect this half year, but she would not be angry with me. Here I staid all the afternoon talking of the King's being married, which is now the towne talke, but I believe false. Then my wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat a while; he having yesterday sent my wife half-a-dozen pair of gloves, and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentine's gift.

23rd. This my birthday, 28 years. I by water to Whitehall, having met Mr. Hartlibb by the way at Alderman Backwell's. So he did give me a glass of Rhenish wine at the Steeleyard, and so to Whitehall by water. He continues of the same bold impertinent humour that he was always of and will ever be. He told me how my Lord Chancellor had lately got the Duke of York and Duchesse, and her woman, my Lord Ossory,² and a Doctor, to make oath before most of the Judges of the kingdom, concerning all the circumstances of their marriage. And in fine, it is confessed that they were not fully married till about

¹ A comedy, by Abraham Cowley.

² Thomas Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond. Ob. 1680, aged

a month or two before she was brought to bed ; but that they were contracted long before, and time enough for the child to be legitimate.¹ But I do not hear that it was put to the Judges to determine whether it was so or no. To my Lord and there spoke to him about his opinion of the Light, the seamarke that Captain Murford is about, and do offer me an eighth part to concern myself with it, and my Lord do give me some encouragement in it, and I shall go on. After dinner to Whitehall Chappell with Mr. Childe, and there did hear Captain Cooke and his boy make a trial of an Anthem against to-morrow, which was brave musique. Then to the Play-house, and there saw "The Changeling,"² the first time it hath been acted these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly. Besides, I see the gallants do begin to be tyred with the vanity and pride of the theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich. I also met with the Comptroller, who told me how it was easy for us all, the principall officers, and proper for us, to labour to get into the next Parliament ; and would have me to ask the Duke's letter,³ but I shall not endeavour it because it will spend much money, though I am sure I could well obtain it. This is now 28 years that I am born. And blessed be God, in a state of full content,

¹ See May 6, 1661.

² "The Changeling," a Tragedy, by Thomas Middleton. The plot is taken from a story in "God's Revenge against Murder." Sheppey played Antonio.

³ Probably a letter of recommendation to some constituency.

and great hopes to be a happy man in all respects, both to myself and friends.

24th (Sunday). Mr. Mills made as excellent a sermon in the morning against drunkenness as ever I heard in my life. I dined at home; another good one of his in the afternoon. My Valentine had her fine gloves on at church to-day that I did give her.

25th. To W. Symon's where I found him abroad, but she, like a good lady, within, and there we did eat some nettle porridge, which was made on purpose to-day for some of their coming, and was very good.

26th (Shrove Tuesday). I to Mrs. Turner's, who I found busy with The. and Joyce making of things ready for fritters, so to Mr. Crew's and there delivered Cotgrave's Dictionary¹ to my Lady Jemimah. To Mrs. Turner's, where several friends, all strangers to me but Mr. Armiger, dined. Very merry and the best fritters that ever I eat in my life. After that looked out at window; saw the flinging at cocks. Then Mrs. The. and I, and Mr. Thatcher the Virginall Maister to Bishopsgate Streete, and there saw the new Harpsicon made for Mrs. The. We offered 12*l.*, they demanded 14*l.* The Maister not being at home, we could make no bargain. So all by coach to my house, where I found my Valentine with my wife. I sat and talked with my Valentine and my wife a good while, and then saw her home.

27th. At the office all the morning, that done I

¹ Of the French tongue.

walked in the garden with little Captain Murford, where he and I had some discourse concerning the Light-House again, and I think I shall appear in the business, he promising me that if I can bring it about, it will be worth 100*l.* per annum. I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no. My father dined with me and did show me a letter from my brother John, wherein he tells us that he is chosen Schollar of the house,¹ which do please me much, because I do perceive now it must chiefly come from his merit and not the power of his Tutor, Dr. Widdrington, who is now quite out of interest there and hath put over his pupils to Mr. Pepper, a young Fellow of the College. This day the Commissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the Fleet, beginning with the Hampshire, and do it at Guildhall, for fear of going out of towne into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them.

28th. Early to wait on my Lord, and after a little talk with him I took boat at Whitehall for Redriffe, but in my way overtook Captain Cuttance and Teddeman in a boat and so ashore with them at Queenhithe, and so to a taverne with them to a barrel of oysters, and so away. Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can. To Deptford,

¹ Christ's College. (M. B.)

where I found both Sir Williams and Sir G. Carteret, and dined, and after dinner we went to Captain Bodilaw's, and there made sale of many old stores by the candle, and good sport it was to see how from a small matter bid at first they would come to double and treble the price of things. Home and to bed. This month ends with two great secrets under dispute but yet known to very few : first, Who the King will marry ; and What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Algier against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL MISTAKES IN FORMER EDITIONS.

PAGE	LINE		
2	.. 17	For certain .	read <i>uncertain.</i>
7	.. 7	" note . .	" <i>vote.</i>
9	.. 8	" president .	" <i>princes.</i>
11	.. 28	" as . .	" <i>us.</i>
12	.. 19	" opposition	" <i>apposition.</i>
13	.. 7	" rights . .	" <i>virtue.</i>
13	.. 17	" what . .	" <i>when.</i>
17	.. 3	" he . .	" <i>high.</i>
22	.. 21	" prosperity .	" <i>propriety, i. e. property</i> <i>(see note Jan. 14th).</i>
33	.. 30	" a . .	" <i>two.</i>
57	.. 8	" time . .	" <i>view.</i>
85	.. 8	" forth with goods to	" <i>forthwith into.</i>
86	.. 4	" ready . .	" <i>void.</i>
88	.. 8	" upon . .	" <i>against.</i>
129	.. 8	" latter . .	" <i>letter.</i>
132	.. 4	" can . .	" <i>must.</i>
148	.. 14	" who . .	" <i>that he.</i>
152	.. 13	" 10 ^s . . .	" <i>16^s.</i>
154	.. 12	" Scout . .	" <i>schuit (see note).</i>
162	.. 15	" sea . .	" <i>see.</i>
163	.. 14	" giving . .	" <i>going.</i>
167	.. 6	" body's . .	" <i>boys's.</i>
172	.. 29	" valour . .	" <i>virtue.</i>
178	.. 12	" yet . .	" <i>you.</i>
181	.. 10	" Presidents .	" <i>President.</i>

List of Principal Mistakes in Former Editions (Continued).

PAGE	LINE		
182	.. 17	For brigs .	read <i>bridge</i> .
186	.. 14	" favours .	" <i>families</i> .
191	.. 22	" charges .	" <i>changes</i> .
201	.. 3	" spoiled. .	" <i>bedaggled</i> .
213	.. 1	" pictures .	" <i>pewter</i> .
218	.. 14	" felt . .	" <i>am full</i> .
263	.. 5	" Rooker .	" <i>Booker</i> .
268	.. 11	" crosses. .	" <i>bosses</i> .
268	.. 23	" me . .	" <i>merry</i> .
279	.. 5	" £50 . .	" <i>£100</i> .
282	.. 17	" made .	" <i>bade</i> .
301	.. 12	" takes . .	" <i>enters</i> .
305	.. 4	" Hardwick .	" <i>Stradwick</i> .
311	.. 10	" stir . .	" <i>stories</i> .
312	.. 18	" their .	" <i>the</i> .
316	.. 11	" West . .	" <i>Wett</i> .
317	.. 21	" her . .	" <i>two</i> .
321	.. 7	" 1s. . .	" <i>1s. 6d</i> .
333	.. 16	" love . .	" <i>use</i> .

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